

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

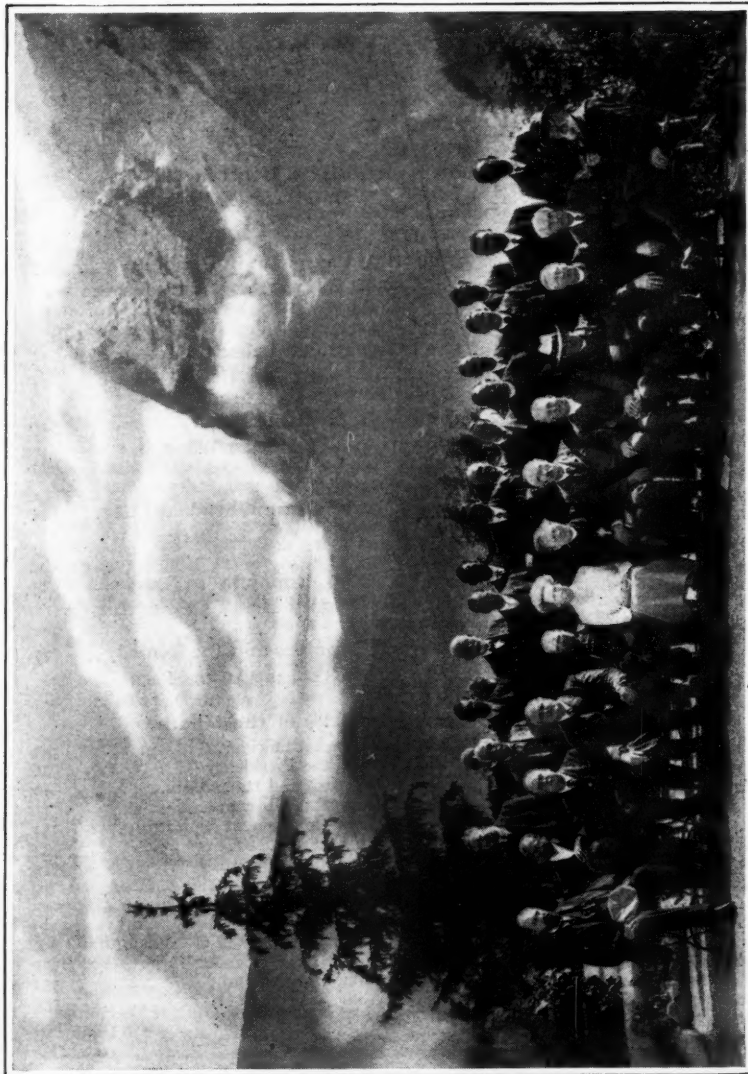
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**A GROUP OF MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS ASSEMBLED AT MÜREN, SWITZERLAND, BY SIR HENRY LUNN (See page 470)**

(From right to left, in the front row, are: Canon Lacey; Rev. Charles Brown, D.D., eminent British Baptist leader; the Bishop of Chelmsford; Rev. P. Carnegie Simpson; Archbishop Bernard, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; Sir Henry Lunn, President of the Conference; the Archbishop of Upsala, Sweden; Mrs. Cadbury, representing the Quakers; Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, D.D.; the Bishop of Winchester; Rev. J. A. Hutton, D.D.; Bishop Ravasz, and Professor Densmann, of Germany; Standing, from right to left, are: Professor G. S. Duncan, of St. Andrew's University; Dr. Keller, of Switzerland; Rev. W. J. Margetson; Rev. James Moffatt, D.D.; Rev. Walter Armstrong; the Bishop of Plymouth; Canon Simpson; Dr. T. R. Glover, of Cambridge University; Rev. T. Phillips; Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson; Rev. W. X. Fullerton; Rev. P. N. Waggett; the Bishop of Peterborough; Rev. Dr. Platt; the Bishop of Edinburgh, and the Rev. F. Underhill)

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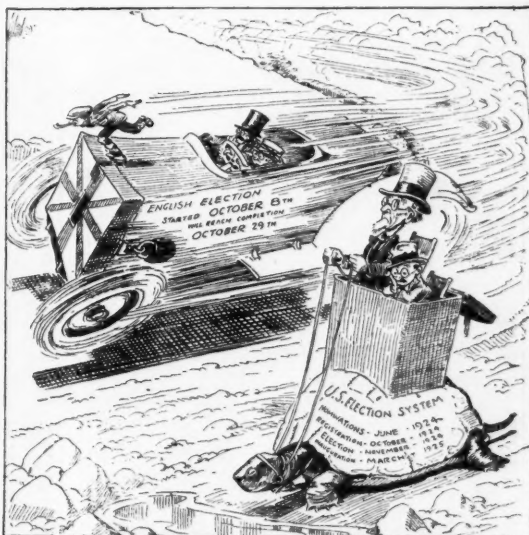
## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

### *Our Cumbersome Electoral Machinery*

There is nothing in the political machinery of any government elsewhere that is so curiously complicated as our system of electing Presidents. As it was first devised this scheme made no allowance at all for the rise of political parties, with their leaders and candidates. It was not put to the test in the two elections that made Washington President, nor in that of 1796 that elected John Adams. But, in the election of 1800, it happened that Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr each received seventy-three electoral votes, these two men being the foremost leaders of the new popular party that was opposing the conservative Federalists who were then in power. John Adams received sixty-five votes as a candidate for a second term, while sixty-four votes were cast for Mr. Pinckney, who was a Senator from South Carolina and also a Federalist, with a single electoral vote for Mr. Jay, who was then Governor of the State of New York. Under the Constitution as it then stood, the presidential electors, meeting in their respective States, were required to vote for two names, having in mind the offices of President and Vice-President but not assigning their selections to either of these offices. The electoral votes were transmitted to Congress, and the candidate receiving the highest number of votes was declared President, while the one standing next in the list was Vice-President. This plan seemed so reasonable in theory that its inventors were confident it would work well in practice.

### *Jefferson's First Election*

There were only 138 electoral votes altogether in the year 1800, so that Jefferson and Burr had each received a clear majority, and it became necessary for the House of Representatives to designate one of them as President and the other as Vice-President. The House that had the decision to make had been elected in 1798, and was strongly Federalist. In this particular case, the party of Jefferson and Burr had decisively won the Presidential election, and the House had only to take the two candidates of that party and decide which of them should have



IT'S FRIGHTFUL HOW SOME PEOPLE DRIVE

From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

[The British Government decided on October 8 to hold new parliamentary elections, and within three weeks from that day the issue will have been decided. With us, however, the popular election comes four months after nominations have been made, and the new officials take office four months after they are elected with electoral college intervening.]

the Presidency. There were fifteen States represented in the House, and each State delegation had to act as a unit in making the choice. Eight States preferred Jefferson and six voted for Burr (one seems to have been a tie). Thus Jefferson became President and Burr became Vice-President. It had by this time become evident that each Presidential elector ought to have had the power to designate one man for President and another man for Vice-President, rather than to send two names up to Congress without expressing preference for either.

*The  
Amendment  
of 1804*

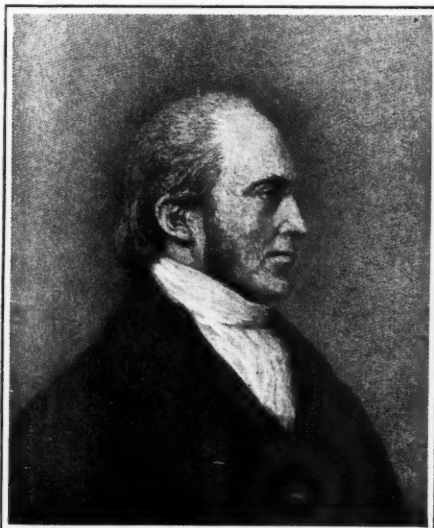
Accordingly, the Constitution was amended in time to remedy this defect before the election of 1804. For 120 years, we have been choosing Presidents under the terms of the amendment that was proposed to the legislatures of the States by the Eighth Congress on December 12, 1803, and that was declared to have been duly ratified in a proclamation issued by Secretary of State James Madison on September 25, 1804. It is a curious fact, worth recording, that this amendment came very close to failure. It was not ratified by Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, or Delaware. Ohio had been admitted as a State early in the year 1803, as the sixteenth member of the Union (Kentucky and Tennessee having

been previously added to the original thirteen). The Constitution requires the ratification of an amendment by three-fourths of the States. This means that if there had been only fifteen States, the four we have just named would have been sufficient to veto the proposed change. With Ohio added, making a total of sixteen, there were twelve legislatures that supported the amendment as against four that did not ratify, and the twelve furnished precisely the required three-fourths.

*Changes  
of Detail*

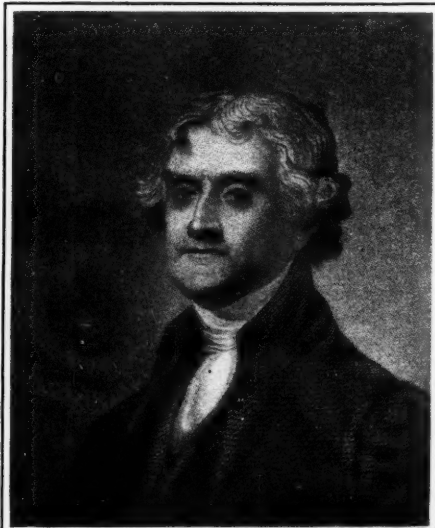
The Twelfth Amendment, thus adopted and made applicable to the election of 1804, did not change the plan of choosing a President through the mechanism of an electoral college. It left the electoral system as provided in the original Constitution of 1787. But it required the electors to "name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President." It provided that the votes thus cast should be transmitted to the President of the United States Senate. It is important to quote from the text itself:

"The President of the Senate shall in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for



AARON BURR

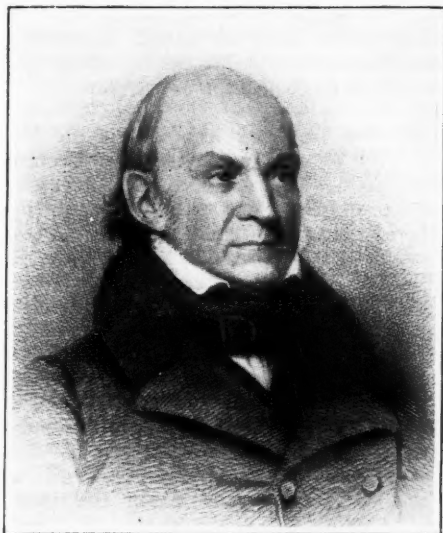
(Who in 1800 received as many electoral votes as Thomas Jefferson; but the House of Representatives chose Jefferson as President and Burr as Vice-President)



THOMAS JEFFERSON

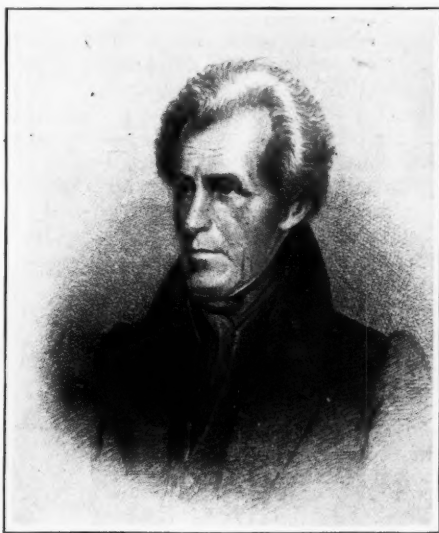
(Who became third President of the United States by action of the House of Representatives after the election of 1800, which resulted in a tie)





JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

(Who was chosen President by the House after the election of 1824)



ANDREW JACKSON

(Who received fifteen more electoral votes than Adams, but was rejected by the House)

President shall be the President if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice."

*The Jackson-Adams Contest of 1824-5*

In the election of 1804, Mr. Jefferson had a majority of the electoral votes, and in the next four Presidential elections Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe were named by clear electoral majorities, so that none of the practical difficulties that were inherent in the complicated system made themselves conspicuous. But a situation arose in the election of 1824 that illustrated what might happen when great parties broke up into factions, and when three or four strong candidates for the Presidency were in the field. John Quincy Adams, who had been Monroe's Secretary of State, was the candidate of one wing of the popular Jeffersonian party, while Andrew Jackson was the favorite of another wing. The old Federalist party had disappeared, and its successor was evolving as the Whig party, with Mr. Crawford of Georgia remaining a foremost leader and with Henry Clay of Kentucky

the rising hope and the cherished leader of the younger generation. Parties were regrouping but not yet crystallized. Two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes were cast for the Presidential candidates, and of these Andrew Jackson received ninety-nine, John Quincy Adams eighty-four, William H. Crawford forty-one, and Henry Clay thirty-seven. The situation thus produced brought into effect at once the provisions of the amendment of 1803. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives, and choice had to be made from the three having the highest number of votes, this eliminating Henry Clay.

*The Situation One Hundred Years Ago*

A discussion of the possibilities was at once precipitated, and there was great excitement over the uncertainties that were involved. The popular election had taken place on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, this date having remained always unchanged. But, under the statute fixing the two subsequent dates, the electors did not meet in their respective States until the second Monday in January, while the opening of the certificates and the counting of the votes in joint session of Congress did not occur until the second Wednesday in February. It had so happened that John C. Calhoun of South Carolina had received 182 votes for the

Vice-Presidency, this being a clear majority. Thus, when the official count was made on February 9, 1825, Mr. Calhoun was at once declared to have been elected as Vice-President. The House had ahead of it twenty-three days in which to choose a President, its selection being limited to Jackson, Adams, and Crawford. If, by the fourth of March, it had failed to make a choice, Mr. Calhoun, as Vice-President, would have had a right to take the oath of office as President, and this would have settled the business for the full term of four years. In making their choice, the members of the House found that they could not act individually but as members of their State delegations, each State being entitled to one vote.

*Jackson, Adams, and Clay* More than three months had elapsed since the

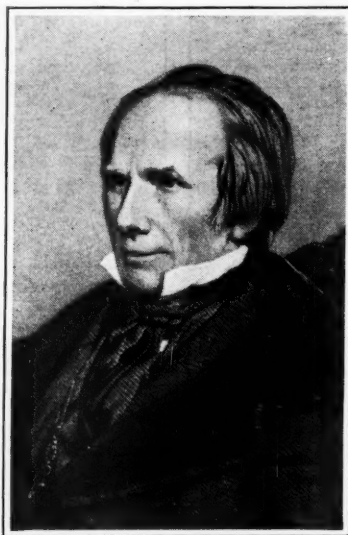
popular election in November, and there were rumors of "dickers" and "deals" behind the scenes. Before the opening of the ballots on February 9 it had been openly charged that the friends of Henry Clay had entered into a bargain with the supporters of John Quincy Adams. Mr. Adams was still holding office as the great Secretary of State who had just promulgated the Monroe Doctrine; and Henry Clay—who was our most eloquent supporter of the cause of independence and progress in the Western Hemisphere at a time when Europe was proposing to regain control over Latin-America—was unquestionably the man above all others who was fitted to succeed John Quincy Adams as Secretary of State. Being fourth on the list in the electoral vote, he was automatically eliminated from the Presidential contest in the House. But his influence in Congress was very great. Andrew Jackson, as the plurality victor in the electoral college, was regarded by himself and his friends as morally entitled to be made President. Great bitterness had developed between the followers of Jackson and those of Adams. Crawford had a

certain definite following which was not likely to be much increased. Everybody was wondering whether the friends of Clay would swing to Jackson or to Adams.

*How Clay  
Elected  
Adams*

A short time before the date for canvassing the electoral vote in Congress, Jackson's supporters came out with the charge that there had been a "corrupt bargain" between

Adams and Clay by virtue of which Adams was to be made President and Clay was to be appointed Secretary of State. That any such bargain had been made was strenuously denied. As a matter of fact, however, the Clay strength in the House was thrown to Adams rather than to Jackson; and on the very first ballot, which was taken on February 9 as soon as the electoral votes had been canvassed, the matter was settled. Only four States voted for Crawford, and only seven for Jackson, while John Quincy Adams received the support of thirteen States. The result was legal beyond a doubt,



HENRY CLAY

(From a portrait by John Sartain)

and it was acquiesced in by an American public that had made progress in the practical art of self-government and that could submit to disappointment. But the sentimental reaction against this decision was tremendous. Mr. Clay was promptly made Secretary of State; and while there was no evidence whatsoever that there had been any serious impropriety in the preference shown by the friends of Clay for Adams rather than for Jackson, it was the verdict of public opinion that Jackson had been unfairly treated and that Adams ought not to have been made President.

*Consequences  
and  
Warnings*

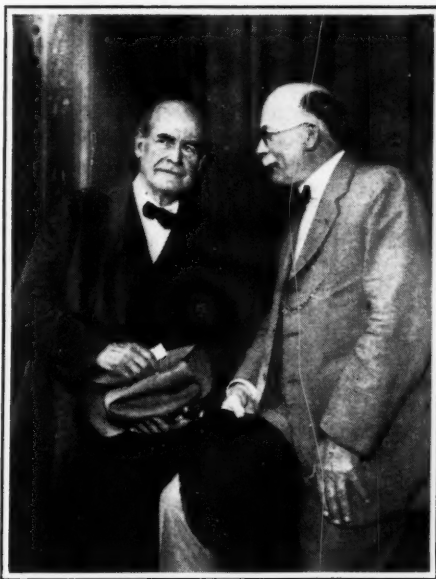
This sentiment limited Adams to one term, and gave Jackson a great compensating triumph in 1828, and again in 1832. If he had supported Jackson as the plurality victor of the 1824 election, it is reasonable to think that

Clay would in due time have realized his own ambition to be President. It has been just one hundred years since that election of 1824 gave Andrew Jackson his plurality in the electoral college, backed as it was by a very strong wave of popular support. Party history is still affected by that contest. We ought long ago to have revised and simplified the method of electing our Presidents. It is true that we have managed to get along; but almost every recurring quadrennial election has brought to light some feature of the existing system that is not satisfactory, and has afforded a warning against neglecting to revise it thoroughly. Our two-party system has owed much of its persistence and rigidity to the ins and outs of election methods that have favored professional politicians and mere party mechanism as against the more spontaneous movements of public opinion. The failure to secure the reform of our obsolete electoral arrangements has been largely due to this fact that the complicated requirements of constitutions and laws tend to benefit the party organizations as such.

*Possibilities  
Now Before  
the Country*

We can best understand the points raised in a discussion of our electoral system when we consider them concretely in relation to the pending election of 1924. There are three candidates for President before the voters, and three for Vice-President. Under the system as it exists, it is theoretically possible that any one of these six men might be sworn in as President of the United States on the fourth day of next March. To begin with, it is obviously possible that any one of the three presidential candidates might receive a majority of the electoral votes and thus be made President. Or he might, in case of an election in the House, receive the votes of a majority of the States. But it is also possible that—the election being thrown into the House—there should be a failure to secure a clear majority of the States for any one of the three candidates. In such case, there is the chance that one of the vice-presidential candidates might become President. This is provided for in the amendment of 1804, as follows:

"If the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-



HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN AND HIS BROTHER, GOVERNOR CHARLES W. BRYAN OF NEBRASKA

(Governor Bryan becomes a presidential possibility in the event of an indecisive election on November 4)

President shall be the Vice-President if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice."

*The Function  
of the Senate  
in a Contest*

This means that if LaFollette has enough electoral votes to prevent either Coolidge or Davis from obtaining a clear majority, and if, furthermore, in the House of Representatives there should be enough State delegations standing by each one of the three candidates to result in a persistent deadlock, the Senate might select either Dawes or Bryan (or Wheeler as a more remote possibility) for the Vice-Presidency in name, but for the Presidency in fact. When the election of 1824 was thrown into the House, there was undoubtedly a great deal of wire-pulling behind the scenes. If there had been three candidates instead of four, that is to say, if the Crawford and Clay electoral votes had been consolidated, there would have been ninety-nine votes for Jackson, eighty-four for Adams, and seventy-eight for the third name. In that case it would have been harder to reach a decision,

and the result might have been to make John C. Calhoun President. As matters stand in 1924, it must be kept in mind that the House may choose as it will from among three presidential candidates, while the Senate is limited to a choice between the two highest vice-presidential candidates. Turning our attention to the Senate, this means that Senator Wheeler's name is not likely to appear in the final contest.

*Gov. Bryan  
May Become  
President*

If the electoral college does not settle the election—as most good citizens earnestly hope that it will—the Senate will almost certainly have to decide between General Dawes and Governor Bryan as to the vice-presidency. It is commonly assumed that the influence of Senator LaFollette and Senator Wheeler, extending to a group of Senators, including the two from Minnesota, the two from North Dakota, one from Iowa, and several others from the Northwest, with possibly one or two from the South and Southwest, would support the Democrats in preferring Bryan to Dawes. The political elements that would like to bring about this result might be expected to do their best to maintain a deadlock in the House of Representatives. On critical votes at various times during the recent session of the present Congress, it was shown that the so-

called radical or progressive element now affiliated with the LaFollette movement could turn the scales as against a nominal or ineffective Republican majority. The frequent defeats of important Administration measures in the House have been due to a hostile majority secured by coalition between the Democrats and the insurgent or radical element. It is everywhere admitted that, if the election were thrown into the House, the delegations favoring LaFollette could not secure support enough to elect their own man. But it is readily supposable that these delegations might try to keep the larger Davis and Coolidge groups deadlocked against one another, in order to make Governor Bryan of Nebraska President.

*An Old Congress  
And a New  
Situation*

One of the most exasperating features of the system that we are analyzing and discussing is found in the fact that it is the old Congress, elected in 1922, rather than the new Congress, just now to be elected on November 4, that will have to attempt the decision in case the Presidential election is not settled conclusively by the electoral college. This is an absurd anomaly. It is the new electoral college, chosen on November 4, that meets in January in order to elect a President and Vice-President. In case of the failure of this electoral college to settle the question by giving a clear majority to any one of the candidates, it ought to be the Congress elected at the same time, namely on the fourth of November, 1924, to which this situation should be referred in February, when the electoral vote is canvassed. This would at least show some decent respect for the national sentiment of 1924. Every intelligent student of politics, since the present age of railroads and telegraphs superseded the period of stage coaches and slow mails, has known that an old Congress ought not to meet and function after a new Congress has been elected. In almost every State of the Union we elect legislatures in November and set them at work at or near the opening of January. We could do the same thing in respect to Congress.

*A Survival  
Worse Than  
Absurd*

If we had instituted this simple reform—and the proposal has been brought to the attention of Congress many times—we should be facing a more consistent situation, even though we were retaining the cumber-



WILL GOVERNOR BRYAN ENTER THE WHITE HOUSE BY A REAR WINDOW?

From the Post (Washington, D. C.)



some old mechanism of our electoral college, with the appeal to Congress. Thus the present Congress, which was elected in November, 1922, was not called in special session either by President Harding or President Coolidge, and therefore did not meet until the first Monday in December of 1923, which was thirteen months after its election. The previous Congress had been in session from the beginning of December, 1922, down to the fourth of March, 1923. Even the stage coach and the slowness of communication never afforded a sufficient excuse for this absurd overlapping of Congresses. We show ourselves ready to make all kinds of experimental and functional changes in the Constitution of the United States, while we refuse to modernize the mere machinery of government for the sake of making democratic institutions more responsive and efficient. A Presidential election appealed to the Congress elected this year might be determined in a manner quite different from an election thrown into the Congress elected two years ago.

*What the  
Electors  
Might Do*

It is not necessary to remind those who are well instructed in our governmental system that it was the intention of the framers of the Constitution that the electoral college should be made up of men who would exercise full and free discretion in choosing the President. But doubtless we have millions of voters who have only a vague notion of such historical facts. Each State has as many presidential electors as it has members of Congress in the two Houses. Under our system as it has operated for a long time, the voters in purpose are casting their ballots directly for presidential candidates, and know nothing of the electors personally. Thus, if the Democrats carry Indiana, fifteen votes will be recorded for Davis and Bryan, and we shall know this as soon as the votes are counted—probably not later than November 5. It would be entirely feasible to eliminate the perfunctory services of the fifteen electors, and to have Indiana's fifteen votes reported by the Governor to the President of the Senate as having been cast for Davis, for Coolidge, or for LaFollette, without the intervention of the actual electors. Such a change would not materially affect the present method of choosing Presidents. This remark, however, applies to ordinary conditions rather than to exceptional ones. It is not to be

forgotten that circumstances might arise under which the electors would feel themselves justified in exercising a certain degree of discretion. There will elapse a little more than two months, after the election of November 4, before the electors meet in their respective States on the second Monday in January to cast their ballots. It is conceivable that public opinion in certain States might justify an elector here and there in exercising his own discretion with a view to preventing a deadlock. It is, of course, highly improbable that any electors would do otherwise than support the ticket with which they had been identified in the November election.

*Discretion May  
Be Exercised  
in the House*

But, in case the election of a President should be thrown into the House, there will be no such party obligations resting upon the members of State delegations as exist in the case of the presidential electors. The House will have a little more than three weeks in which to try to reach a decision. It may be not unreasonable to suppose that there are Democratic Congressmen who would rather have Coolidge for President than Charles W. Bryan. Especially is it permissible to think that there may be Republican members of Congress who would rather help to break the deadlock by putting Davis in the White House than



WILL A MINORITY RULE?  
From the Oregonian (Portland, Ore.)



allow the deadlock to persist with the certainty that Bryan would become President. It is to be remembered that the LaFollette strength in the House of Representatives, under the plan of voting by States as units, may prove to be very much less than his strength with the country as shown at the polls in November, and less than his actual position in the electoral college. It cannot be too strongly argued that if no candidate receives a clear majority of the electoral votes it is the duty of the House to try to elect a President rather than to submit to the elimination of the three presidential candidates, and to allow the Senate to put Governor Bryan into the White House.

*Eminence  
of the Three  
Candidates*

It must be remembered that the Republicans selected Mr. Coolidge with unanimity, and that he is at least as strong as his party—and probably\* stronger—in the esteem of the country. Furthermore, the Democrats, after the longest convention in our annals, did themselves credit by nominating John W. Davis, who has the support of every one of his rivals and whose qualifications for the presidential office are admitted by everybody. Again, it is to be remembered that Senator LaFollette has been before the country as a public man for a long time, and that the remarkable strength he is showing as the candidate of the new progressive coalition shows that the country takes him seriously as a real candidate. Although it is now unlikely that either one of the three can win a clear majority of the total popular vote, it is obvious that one of the three may have a considerable plurality over the second highest in the list. Also, while LaFollette may carry enough States to prevent either of his rivals from having a clear majority in the electoral college, it is likely enough that one may have an appreciable plurality of electoral votes, and that this plurality may be found to coincide with the plurality of the popular votes cast on November 4.

*Pluralities  
Should Be  
Respected*

In such a situation there would be many thoughtful citizens who would advise the House of Representatives to break the deadlock by awarding the presidency to the candidate who had gained these pluralities. As we have already observed, the Congress that will have to decide the case was elected two

years ago, and happens to be almost evenly balanced between parties when it comes to the test of voting by States as units. In our opinion, Congress would be wholly justified in attaching importance to the sentiment shown by the voters in November, 1924. If there should prove to have been a clear Coolidge plurality, it is certainly true that Coolidge rather than Bryan ought to be made President. If, on the other hand, there has been a clear Davis plurality, it should be plain enough that Davis rather than Bryan ought to be made President, and that the House of Representatives should obey the popular will as expressed at the polls rather than take advantage of technicalities, or attach undue importance to mere partisanship. It would be unfortunate on many accounts if the country should fail to vote decisively in November.

*Oratory in  
the Campaign*

While campaign oratory gives the newspapers daily topics of discussion, and advertises the fact that an election is about to be held, it is to be doubted whether the speaking tours of candidates play much part in the results. President Coolidge has gone along steadily in performance of the work of his office, and has said very little about the issues of the campaign. The man who is actually in the office is sufficiently before the public, and there is no reason why he should think it necessary to storm the country with partisan appeals. To the great majority of the voters, Mr. Davis is a sheer discovery, and undoubtedly it has been worth while for him to appear on the platform in various States. This is especially true because he is a remarkably accomplished public speaker, well trained at the Bar in arguing his case, and more adaptable personally than men of his intellectual gifts usually are. When all this is said, however, it is by no means certain that he has swayed masses of voters either by his personal charm or his dialectical skill. Senator LaFollette has taken a great place in the campaign, chiefly by reason of the strategical ability shown in the bringing together of large elements of voters—labor unionists, farmers, radicals, socialists, pacifists, reformers, and discontented people in general. He had already made secure his personal leadership in the minds of these diverse groups of supporters; and it is not likely that he has added anything appreciable to the strength of his forces by his appearances on the

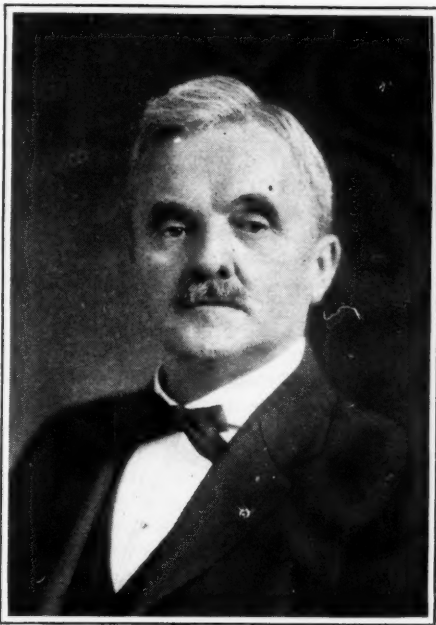
stump. Many of his statements have been exceedingly extravagant, and his latest programs and promises have not appealed strongly to practical men. His guiding hand behind the scenes is more influential than are his oratorical appearances.

*Dawes and  
Davis as  
Speakers*

The Republican campaign has from the beginning particularly starred the vice-presidential candidate, General Charles G. Dawes. He had gained high prestige in his work at Washington as Director of the Budget, and more lately had won deserved fame as the chairman of the commission of experts who had worked out a successful plan for the settlement of the German reparations problem. His remarks on the platform are always frank and courageous, and he makes the impression of a man of great force who is capable of dealing successfully with large public issues. Mr. Davis has probably made a mistake in his attempts to belittle the recent work of our State Department. Far from standing aloof, the Government of the United States has shown an extraordinary initiative in its efforts to promote the cause of peace and to bring about the settlement of dangerous outstanding questions. The disparagements that Mr. Davis has indulged in have given Secretary Hughes precisely the opportunity that he might well have desired to expound and defend American foreign policy. This field has constantly occupied the attention of Secretary Hughes for several years; and he has cultivated that field with so much of energy, ability, and success that he has clear advantages in debate over any challenger, however well trained in argumentation.

*Davis and  
His Party's  
Attitudes*

Mr. Davis, furthermore, has been greatly handicapped by the Democratic platform and by the recent history of his party's opinions. The position of Mr. Hughes with regard to the League of Nations is much more nearly in accord with the sentiments expressed by the Democratic convention than is that of Mr. Davis. The point of view of Mr. Davis does not seem different from that of Hon. Newton D. Baker, whose eloquent presentation on behalf of the League of Nations did not convince the Democrats assembled in Madison Square Garden. After a notable debate in the Democratic convention, the proposal to adopt a platform plank denounc-



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**SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS, OF NEBRASKA**

(Mr. Norris has announced that in the event of an incisive result in the Electoral College, with the Senate thus called upon to choose a Vice-President, he will be guided by the popular plurality of the voters of his State rather than merely by his own party affiliation)

ing the Ku Klux Klan was rejected. Mr. Davis, however, expressed himself strongly at the beginning of his campaign in antagonism to the Klan, and openly challenged President Coolidge to declare like views on that subject. Nevertheless, in his speeches in Indiana and some other States further West, where many Democrats were supposed to be Klansmen, it was said in criticism of Mr. Davis that he was persuaded by local leaders not to give prominence to that embarrassing theme.

*Bryan's  
Differing  
Record*

Again, Mr. Davis would seem to be in a somewhat difficult position by reason of the affiliations of his running mate. Thus the western supporters of Senator LaFollette are regarded as very friendly indeed to Governor Bryan, while they are quite as much opposed to Mr. Davis as a conservative as they are to President Coolidge himself. Certainly the views of Mr. Davis regarding the control of railroads and the relations between Government and business must be widely different from those of

Governor Bryan. The Democratic candidate for Vice-President has been known to the country for an entire generation as the managing editor and publisher of his brother's weekly paper, *The Commoner*, which has only lately been discontinued. As a journalist, dealing constantly with public questions, over a long period of years, Charles W. Bryan's views have been even more opposed to those of Mr. Davis than have those of Senator LaFollette himself. This situation, in view of the fact that Mr. Bryan has almost if not quite as good a chance to become President as has Mr. Davis, does not strengthen the Democratic ticket with thoughtful people. It apparently has a tendency to strengthen Mr. Coolidge on the one hand and Senator LaFollette on the other. It must be said, however, that the personality of Mr. Davis as a candidate is singularly agreeable to the Democratic voters of the South, and that he is quite sure to win a large block of electoral votes from the States below the Mason and Dixon line.

*Do Policies  
Divide  
Parties?*

Naturally enough, political parties in the course of an election campaign try to make themselves believe that they stand for principles and policies that are in direct opposition to those of the rival party. Early in the present year, when the naval oil lease investigation and the Daugherty investigation were filling the newspapers, the Democrats were confident that they could win the presidential election on the sole issue of "common honesty." But that issue has not proved itself a dominant one. There is no serious attempt to challenge the honesty of the Coolidge Administration. The effort to make it appear that the Democratic party stands on Woodrow Wilson's ground as respects the League of Nations has, also, been foredoomed to failure because the party has officially refused to accept the Wilson doctrines. The injection of religious and racial prejudices into politics is to be condemned, and no private organization or society should be allowed to defy the law or to interfere with the administration of justice. But religious prejudice and oath-bound societies cannot be successfully identified with one party as against another; and thus it is quite impossible to distinguish the Klan issue, for example, and make it fit the purposes of a presidential campaign. Undoubtedly all

three of the presidential candidates are sincerely devoted to the welfare of agriculture and to the prosperity of the people as a whole. But not one of them has shown himself able to set forth in any conclusive way the lines of definite policy that would make our agriculture stable and successful in the business sense, and keep the nation's industrial life moving forward with equal advantage to labor and capital, and with prosperity alike for domestic and foreign commerce. No party can claim exclusive credit for having adopted any clean-cut policies assuring the prosperity of agriculture or commerce.

*The Tariff  
as an Issue*

If the Democrats should win a sweeping victory, they would undoubtedly attempt to revise the Fordney-McCumber tariff. But the main policy of a protective tariff is established, and is not now in dispute. With the success of the Dawes plan and of the German loan, a great revival of European industry is expected; and no American party would dare, in the face of foreign competition, greatly to lower the rates of duty on manufactured articles that compete with the products of our factories. It is the American policy, broadly speaking, to reserve the domestic market for home products. Undoubtedly the existing schedules are far from being scientific in many of their details. But business men have found that an assurance that known rates will be continued is more important than that rates should be made either lower or higher, in view of the losses that attend uncertainty and frequent change. We are publishing in this number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* a very able and pertinent article on the making of the tariff rates by Mr. Thomas Walker Page of Virginia, who was formerly chairman of the Tariff Board. Mr. Page points out in a most convincing way the practical difficulties that have been discovered in the attempt to carry into practice the new principle of a flexible tariff. It would seem likely that the provision of law under which the Tariff Board may recommend a change which the President can proclaim will be repealed in the not distant future.

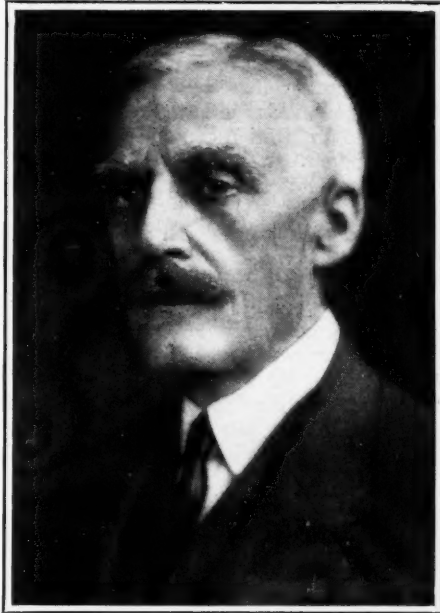
*Tariff  
Abuses*

It is well-nigh impossible, in the making of tariff laws that involve many hundreds of items, to avoid slips here and there that

redound unduly to the benefit of some particular person or industry. Thus, in political campaigns there is always a temptation to single out items that have proved to be of questionable character, and to turn partisan arguments upon so-called tariff scandals. Undoubtedly there have been tariff abuses that deserved to be exposed, and that might well enough be brought into prominence during political campaigns; but the public should always be careful not to be too ready to join in imputing dishonest motives. A case in point is the determined attacks that have been made upon Secretary Mellon by reason of the increase in the rates of duty upon aluminum in the Fordney-McCumber tariff. This metal has entered into very large use for many purposes, and especially for the making of household utensils. Great credit is due to an American scientist for the successful experiments that enabled him to make aluminum a metal of general use. His discoveries, inventions, and processes became the property of a large company whose rights were protected by patents and otherwise. The results of the development of aluminum have been beneficial to the whole world. Recent tariff changes, as regards this metal, may not have been justifiable. They may have had some effect upon the prices of articles of familiar use. The facts are in dispute.

#### *The Case of Aluminum*

The Federal Trade Commission seems to have taken the view that the Aluminum Company of America is unduly aided by the tariff laws in the maintenance of the monopoly which it could not very well help possessing at the outset, in view of its control of Mr. Hall's discoveries and processes. It happens that Secretary Mellon and his brother are large holders of the stock of this company. It has not been made clear that Mr. Mellon in any manner secured influence to secure increases in tariff rates. The Secretary happens to be a man of great wealth, and it does not seem reasonable to suppose that he would be under any temptation to make a little more money at the risk of destroying his reputation as an official and a public financier. Perhaps, indeed, the aluminum tariff ought to be reduced. The question is one for study by the Tariff Commission and by Congress itself in the light of all the facts. A broader investigation was indeed ordered by Con-



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HON. ANDREW W. MELLON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

(Whose large holdings in the Aluminum Company of America have been a subject of campaign controversy)

gress through the Federal Trade Commission several years ago. To bring one tariff item suddenly into the light of publicity at the crisis of a political campaign would look more like an attempt to slur the Administration for political advantage than like a genuine effort to promote the public welfare.

#### *Prohibition in the Campaign*

The Eighteenth Amendment cannot be said to have played an important part in the campaign discussions. The logic of the situation is so clearly in favor of the vigorous enforcement of the laws that candidates in general have found it necessary to say that they would do their best to break up illegal practices. It is the drys rather than the wets who seem to have strengthened their position in the course of this year's campaign. There is a distinct reaction against bootlegging, moonshining, and smuggling. The rum fleets along the coast are finding that our new arrangements with foreign governments are making their infamous traffic much more hazardous. The light wine and beer proposals are not gaining in



favor. Colonel Roosevelt, in New York, has come out in support of the enactment of a law to take the place of the Mullan-Gage enforcement act that was repealed under Governor Smith's influence. Upon the whole, the prohibition cause seems to have gained more than it has lost during the political contest of 1924.

*Gov. Smith  
Renominated*

The practical argument in favor of the nomination of Governor Al Smith of New York for the presidency took somewhat this form in the convention: The solid South would in any case support the Democratic ticket, and Smith would have a far better chance than any other candidate to carry New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and perhaps Indiana and Illinois. In his campaigns for Governor, Smith had rolled up immense majorities. The voters of New York State have shown themselves perfectly able to split their tickets, and Smith has been much stronger than his party. It had been supposed that he was invincible in his own State. The Democrats, therefore,

holding their State convention at Syracuse on September 26, nominated Governor Smith for a third term. The Republicans meeting at Rochester, had on September 25 nominated for Governor Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy and eldest son of the late President Roosevelt. The Democrats were very disdainful, and Governor Smith himself referred to the Republicans as trying to win with a "myth at Washington and a name in New York."

*Roosevelt's  
Remarkable  
Campaign*

Colonel Roosevelt immediately resigned his position as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and threw himself with surprising energy into the campaign. Republican hopes began to revive, and the million majority (more or less) that his enthusiastic supporters had claimed for Governor Smith soon dwindled in the estimates. Attacks upon Theodore Roosevelt's record proved to be boomerangs. It was shown that he had been wounded and gassed in the Great War, had been an excellent officer, and had fully earned his honors. Again, it was demon-



COL. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR IN NEW YORK, WITH HIS FAMILY

(From a photograph taken at Oyster Bay on the day of his formal notification. From left to right in the group, are: Cornelius, age 8; Colonel Roosevelt; Theodore junior, 10; Grace, 13; Quentin, who will be 5 on Election Day; and Mrs. Roosevelt)



strated that he had been an exceptionally able and industrious official at Washington, and that he had been blameless as regards the naval oil leases. He had guided the work of the President's great Conference on Out-Door Recreation last May with notable efficiency and tact. It soon appeared, also, that he was an excellent campaigner, speaking briefly and simply but with force and intelligence upon public questions, and that he was able to meet many audiences day by day in all parts of the State without undue strain or fatigue. That the LaFollette vote in New York was going to be large had become apparent to all politicians. It was also apparent as election time approached that Theodore Roosevelt had gained greatly in political prestige, and had put fresh heart into the Republican party of the State regardless of what might be the outcome at the polls.

#### Minor Contests

In this country the forecasting of a national election is made infinitely more difficult, not to say impossible, by the hundreds of cross-currents and back eddies in the form of State issues, local movements, and factional discords within party lines. Many of these accompaniments of every campaign are confined within the State or Congressional District of their origin, but their consequences are far-reaching and may even threaten the success of a national ticket with which they are in no way concerned. No campaign manager can hope to keep accurately informed on the varied interests, prejudices, and passions affecting the populations of forty-eight States. Here and there a serious defection gains headway before the politicians know anything about it. It may mean the change of thousands of votes. Hence the occasional surprises of Election Day. What makes this possibility the more unpleasant for the politician to face is the undoubted fact that the American voter is each year finding it easier to split his ballot. He may vote against his party's nominee for Congress or the candidate for Governor in his State without sacrificing the Presidential Electors on the national ticket. There was a time in our history—and not in a remote past—when a split ballot was rarely cast. That time has gone by and the fact may as well be recognized. This year, with the third party active in so many States, there are rumors everywhere of vote-trading. No doubt many of these are unfounded.



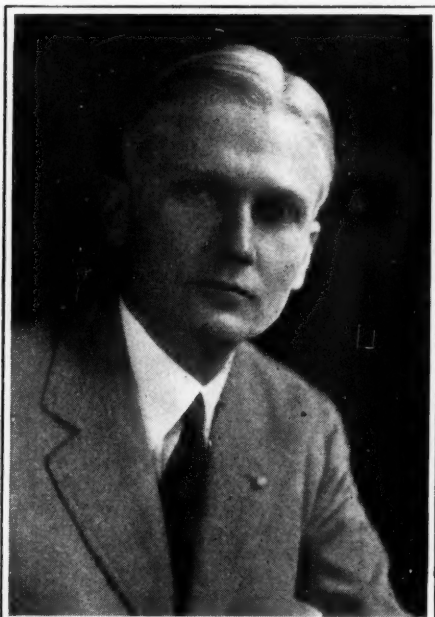
©Marceau

HON. ALFRED E. SMITH

(Renominated for the Governorship by the New York Democrats)

#### White in Kansas

In this campaign there has been more than the usual tendency to independent action, even apart from the LaFollette third party agitation. Nowhere has there been a more interesting sign of this dissatisfaction with the old party organizations than in Kansas, where William Allen White is making a run for the governorship on his own platform of opposition to the Ku Klux Klan. Everybody in and out of Kansas knows that Mr. White would rather keep on editing the *Emporia Gazette* and writing books than occupy the governor's chair at Topeka. He is in this race because it seems to him that the candidates of both the old parties have accepted the aid of the Klan and by refusing to disclaim it have at least made it unlikely that either of them would oppose it seriously in the governor's office. Mr. White was nominated by the largest independent petition ever filed for an office in Kansas. All the signatures were obtained outside his home town and county. It seems to have been a fair test of Kansas sentiment. Quite irrespective of election results, it means much for Kansas that the first citizen of the State should be willing to



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HON. HIRAM BINGHAM

(Republican candidate for Governor of Connecticut)



MR. DWIGHT B. HEARD

(Nominated for Governor by the Arizona Republicans)

make a fight of this kind with no motive other than the public interest. Governor Jonathan M. Davis (Democrat) is up for reelection, and the Republican candidate is Ben S. Paulen.

*Arizona  
and  
Wyoming*

Farther West there are several State contests of unusual importance this year. The Colorado River Compact, in which seven States are concerned, becomes a bone of contention in the Arizona election. Governor George W. P. Hunt, who has been nominated on the Democratic ticket for his fifth term, has strenuously opposed the Compact from the beginning as unfavorable to Arizona's interests. To contest this year's election with Governor Hunt, the Republicans have nominated Mr. Dwight B. Heard, owner of the *Arizona Republican*, a famous ranchman, and one of the ablest of the national leaders of the Progressive movement of 1912. Mr. Heard favors ratification of the Compact, with certain reservations which he believes would fully protect Arizona's interests. The other States involved have already accepted the Compact. In Wyoming the death of Governor Ross on October 2 required the calling of an emer-

gency Democratic State convention, which promptly named the Governor's widow, Mrs. Nellie Ross, as candidate to fill her husband's unexpired term. Thus, the Wyoming Democrats follow the example of their party in Texas in presenting a woman for Chief Executive of the State. Fifty-five years ago Wyoming as a Territory took the lead in conferring suffrage on its women, but Mrs. Ross is the first woman in the history of the State to be named for the governorship.

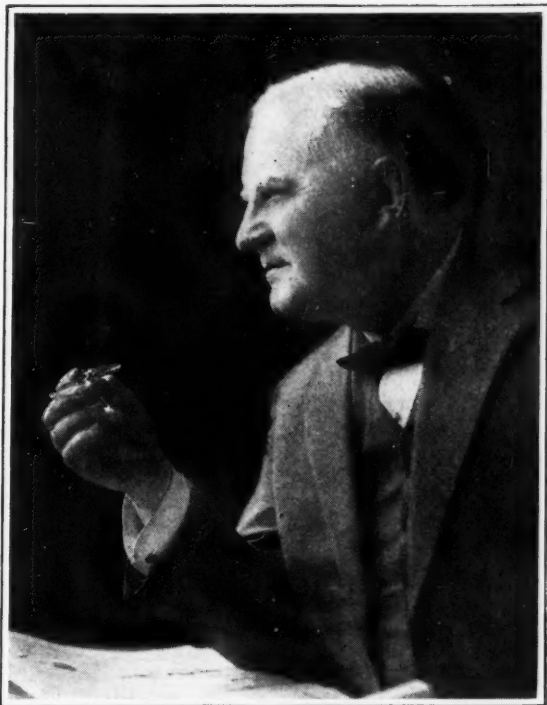
*California's  
Prospects*

A State where, for one reason or another, special importance is attached to the "woman vote" is California, which this year, not having to elect a Governor, is concentrating largely on national issues. Polls have been taken in various parts of the State in which it has been possible to classify the women voters. While these "straw votes" are not to be taken too seriously as indicative of results, the California polls seem to have shown at any rate that the percentage of women for Coolidge is larger than that of the men in the same localities. It is claimed that the women have not been strongly influenced by the LaFollette agitation.

The State Supreme Court, by vote of four to three, denied the petition of the LaFollette Electors to obtain a place on the ballot as independents. This decision was regretted by some of the Republican leaders, who looked upon it as "good law but poor politics." The names of LaFollette Electors will appear on the ballot under the Socialist heading. With so much time available for instructing voters, it is doubtful whether the court's decision will result in any appreciable loss to the LaFollette forces. The Republican organization in California seems to rely largely on the tariff appeal to win back the farmers of the State to the "regular" ticket. Senator Hiram Johnson is supporting Coolidge and Dawes.

#### *Iowa's Mix-up*

From the Republican standpoint, some of the most serious complications of the campaign have developed in the Middle West. Senator Brookhart, of Iowa, with a confidence based on the support of 200,000 farmers, although nominally a Republican, denounced the campaign conducted by that party as a national organization and demanded the withdrawal of General Dawes from the ticket. It had been generally supposed for some time that Mr. Brookhart's sympathies were with the LaFollette organization. The Iowa Republican Central Committee declared the Senator a bolter from the Republican party, but although it had been urged to go farther and rule Brookhart out of the party councils, it refrained from so doing. The situation has its humorous aspects and is one which probably could not possibly arise in the politics of any country in the world except the United States. Meanwhile, the Democratic canvass seems to have been wholly submerged in Iowa, as it has been in several of her neighbor States. It is everywhere recognized that the fight is between Coolidge and LaFollette. On State issues, the Republicans have nominated Lieut.-Gov. John Hammill, and the Democrats J. C. Murtagh, for Governor.



MR. WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE FOR THE KANSAS GOVERNORSHIP

#### *The Connecticut Situation*

The shocking suicide of Senator Frank B. Brandegee, of Connecticut, at Washington on October 13 caused consternation among the Republican politicians of the "land of steady habits." Lieut.-Gov. Hiram Bingham, who is a Yale professor, is running for the governorship on a Republican ticket, and it had been expected that he would be the choice of Connecticut Republicans to succeed Senator Brandegee in 1926. Under the Connecticut law, a vacancy in the office of United States Senator cannot be filled by the Governor's appointment, but only by a special election after due notice. Various legal requirements prevent the holding of such an election on November 4. Senator Brandegee's is the third seat 'on the Republican side of the Senate Chamber at Washington to be made vacant by death within the past few months. The possible choice of Democrats to fill these vacancies occasions not a little alarm to those Republicans who think that as a result of the failure of the House to elect a President the choice of a Vice-President by the

Senate may mean the election of a President. If the three vacancies should all be filled by Democrats, there would still be a nominal Republican majority in the Senate, but it would be partly composed of men who could not be depended upon to vote for a Republican candidate. Senator Norris, of Nebraska, has stated that he would be bound by the popular vote of his State.

*Third-Party  
Railroad  
Charges*

With all due allowance for the inevitable exuberance of partisan statements in a presidential campaign, the charges in the Third Party handbook and other of its campaign statements as to the railroad situation and the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act, go beyond the pale of reason. Whether or not the Transportation Act under which the roads are now functioning is a "legislative crime" and "the railroads' post-war charter privilege" may fairly be a matter of opinion. But the positive statement that the existing law has increased the cost of living to the American people by \$4,500,000,000 a year, through an unjustified increase in freight rates amounting to \$1,500,000,000 a year, is not within reason. Last year, which was one of the best of recent years for the roads, their entire gross operating revenues were \$6,356,000,000, while their operating expenses and taxes amounted to \$5,280,000,000, leaving a total margin above actual running expenses of \$1,076,000,000. Senator LaFollette's implication that the "legislative crime" raised rates too high to the extent of \$1,500,000,000 of revenue is equivalent to advocating that no stockholders in our railroads should receive any dividends whatsoever; further, that no bondholders should receive any interest whatsoever on the capital furnished the roads, and finally that the Government should pay the deficit (even after these two disastrous moves) of nearly half a billion dollars for the year. That anything like this or even half as drastic as this would mean certain destruction of our transportation industry is too obvious to need statement. In this year under discussion, 1923, a reduction of even 10 per cent. in net revenues would have taken away more than all that was left for stock after paying the fixed charges; and it would be impossible to conceive of investors being willing to finance the roads' necessary extensions and improvements.

*Physical  
Valuation*

Another aggressive charge of the Third Party propaganda is that the valuation of the railroads, now proceeding under the direction of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is measured by the book values of the properties and that these are extensively swollen with "watered" stock. The physical valuation of the railroads was begun many years ago on the insistence of Senator LaFollette himself, and the expenditures for that purpose have now reached about \$100,000,000. The Commerce Commission has shown clearly that in the fixing of the values, the book figures and present capitalization of the roads are not controlling factors. One of the first really important railroads to have its physical valuation tentatively fixed by the Commission is the Illinois Central, for which the valuation figures were published in October. The values assigned to this road show that they are not based in the least on "watered" stock; and incidentally this Illinois Central valuation results in a value per share of stock more than twice as great as the current quotation on the stock exchanges.

*Canadian  
Railways in  
Comparison*

In the effort to discredit private ownership and operation of railways, Senator LaFollette's followers have made much of the system known as the Canadian National Railways, which consists of the various properties the Government of Canada had to take over after it guaranteed their bond issues. The Third Party statement is that these government-owned railways have changed over from a large deficit under private management to a handsome surplus under Government ownership. While it is true that the Canadian National system did better in 1923 than in some previous years, due to the absolutely unprecedented bumper wheat crops of the Northwest, no surplus can be figured out for that year without ignoring interest on the Government's previous advances and interest on the bonds guaranteed by the Government. When these necessary items are taken into account, the deficit in 1923 amounts to more than \$50,000,000. Nor is there any point in the further campaign statement that the railroads of Canada under Government ownership have reduced freight rates to pre-war levels. The truth is that when enormous subsidies were given to the Canadian Pacific, twenty-



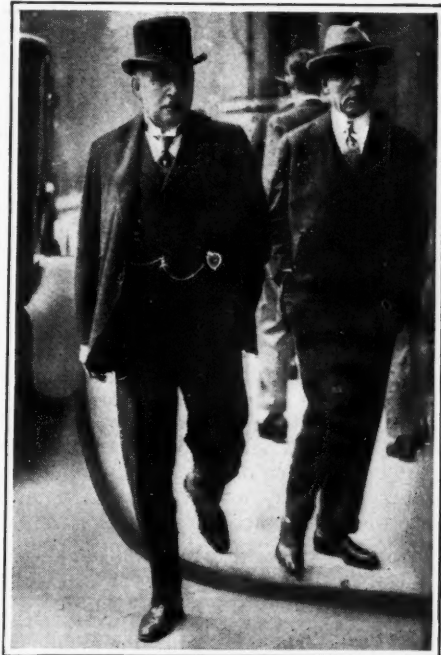
seven years ago, railroad operating costs had been for years generally tending to decline; and this company made the mistake of guaranteeing that it would not increase certain classifications of rates above their then levels. Thus, the existence of pre-war rates on some Canadian roads is simply due to a sharp bargain driven by the Laurier Government in 1897.

*The  
German  
Loan*

The offering to American investors, on October 14, of approximately \$110,000,000 of German Government bonds was one of the most novel and important pieces of financing our generation has seen. The American issue was half of the total loan to Germany, originally fixed at \$200,000,000 and then at the last moment increased somewhat in order that the total proceeds of the issue—sold, as it was, below par—should finally yield the Germans about \$200,000,000 gold value. The other half of the loan was offered in Great Britain, France, Italy, and other European countries. The complexity and novelty of the transaction, its function as the keystone of the entire Dawes plan, gave it an urgency out of all proportion to any profits that might result from it to syndicates and bankers. Messrs. J. P. Morgan and Thomas W. Lamont were in London for weeks before the issue, working on the puzzling details.

*"A First  
Mortgage  
on Germany"*

Nothing just like these bonds has ever before been offered to investors. They are protected by a first charge upon all Germany's revenues and by a prior lien upon certain specific revenues which under the Dawes plan will be controlled for the service of the present loan. It is generally understood that even these "controlled" revenues designated as security for the loan amount each year to about the full face value of the issue. The London Conference provided that the Allied Governments shall protect these revenues securing the loan and see that they are applied to its benefit. It is not unusual in other countries having to pay war indemnities to borrow money abroad, but there have never before been such intricate devices for security. None such were present when the French borrowed money from foreigners to help pay their five billion francs indemnity in 1871. They borrowed nearly a third of that sum in foreign countries on a



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MESSRS. J. PIERPONT MORGAN AND THOMAS W. LAMONT, AS PHOTOGRAPHED IN LONDON DURING THE RECENT NEGOTIATIONS

5 per cent. loan, which was about sixteen times over-subscribed.

*Attractive  
to the  
Investor*

When it came to fixing the exact terms, the rate of interest and the selling price,—in other words, the net yield to the investor who buys these bonds—there was extraordinary diversity of opinion among the financiers who carried through the transaction. In general, the American bankers, headed by J. P. Morgan & Co., favored a lower rate than that which was finally set, and the British, who take one-fourth of the loan (the remaining fourth being divided among France, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, Holland, and Switzerland) argued for a high interest rate. It was thought by many that a debt of such moderate dimensions, which was virtually a first mortgage on the entire German Empire, with all the countries of Europe pledged to see that the terms of the mortgage were carried out, should be attractive with a moderate yield; in fact, many people considered that it suggested some hidden weakness to offer a high rate of interest. There are bonds of



Sweden now yielding only  $4\frac{3}{8}$  per cent. and Belgian issues yielding  $5\frac{7}{8}$  per cent. In spite of these considerations—and no doubt due largely to a desire to have this epoch-making loan “go” with exceptional *éclat*—the bonds were finally issued at 7 per cent. and sold to the public at 92, which results in a yield to the investor of something better than  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., as the issue matures in twenty-five years. The American half was underwritten by a syndicate headed by J. P. Morgan & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the First National Bank, and the National City Company; more than 1,000 American banks participated in offering the bonds to the public. The loan was an enormous success, being oversubscribed more than nine times. From the standpoint of public sentiment as it existed even one year ago, such a result seems little short of miraculous; and the whole transaction, considered as a banking promotion, constitutes perhaps the most signal triumph in the history of the Morgan firm.

*The Uses  
of the  
Loan*

Thus, just after the middle of October, there was made available a round sum of \$200,000,000 to be employed under the Dawes plan in operating the machinery of reparations. A portion of the loan will furnish a necessary gold reserve for the new German Bank of Issue, which will have ample subscribed capital and the sole right of issuing notes in Germany—the old depreciated paper marks virtually going up in smoke. Part of the proceeds of the new loan will also be used for immediate reparations payments. The vital principle underlying the entire Dawes plan, the London agreements, the new loan, and the new German Bank of Issue, is that reparations payments by Germany shall be so handled as not to break down exchanges and further hamstring German industry. Ever since the Treaty of Versailles was signed, the Allied Governments have been attempting to take over German industrial production measured in terms of foreign currencies, and the thing proved impracticable without ruining Germany's productive powers. It looks truly as if there may be in sight the end of the economic warfare in Europe which, emphasized by the invasion of the Ruhr, has been bringing so much waste and destruction through the past five years.

*The League  
Acquires  
Influence*

The survey given by Mr. Simonds of the results of the meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva leaves little to be said. At last the League of Nations has begun to acquire the central position in respect to the promotion and maintenance of European peace that its founders intended that it should have. The adoption of the protocol which provides for compulsory arbitration, and for joint action against an aggressor nation that has refused arbitration, is precisely in the spirit of the plans that Woodrow Wilson had advocated. It is only five years since Woodrow Wilson made his remarkable tour of the West, expounding his views and advocating the employment of the League of Nations along the very line that has now been agreed upon. Whether or not the Government of the United States is destined soon to join the League of Nations, there is no doubt as to the consistent position of our Government as regards the principles that have now been accepted by the European nations at Geneva. Even without being officially connected with the League, we can continue to promote the cause of arbitration. And we can, in many practical ways, cooperate in the plans that are intended to provide security, and to justify large measures of disarmament in the near future.

*The League  
and Domestic  
Policies*

The Geneva protocol, as originally drawn, was intended to provide for the application of the principle of arbitration to international disputes. It was not intended to convert the League of Nations into an organization that should meddle in the strictly domestic policies of any nation. The Japanese, however, refused to concur unless any question, even though domestic in its nature, that might lead to conflict between nations should be brought within the scope of the League's plans for the settlement of disputes. It was made plain that the Japanese had in mind the immigration policy of the United States. A somewhat vague compromise was adopted in order to secure the assent of Japan to the protocol as a whole. It is to be regretted that Japan should have put herself in a position so manifestly indefensible. We do not endorse the action of Congress in declining to extend the quota provision of the new immigration law to the Japanese. But it is clearly within the right of any country to regulate immigration in



THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT THE OPENING OF THE RECENT SESSION AT GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

any way it pleases, as a strictly domestic affair. There has been no unfriendliness in the United States toward Japan, but quite the contrary. The protocol has yet to be ratified by the Governments of the countries that are members of the League of Nations, and in England strong opposition to it has been developed.

*Danger  
of Going  
Too Far*

It would be unfortunate, to say the least, if the League of Nations should be supported in the assertion of a right to interfere in the domestic policies of its members, or of non-member countries, on complaint of members. International peace does not lie along such paths. The League of Nations cannot dictate to England as regards the solution of its unemployment policies, or the use of its navy. Neither can it wisely dictate to any nation as regards the conservation or the distribution of its sources of natural wealth. It may advise nations—Germany, for instance—against the temporary adoption of long hours in factories, in disregard of the League of Nation's eight-hour views; but it would be ill-advised to attempt to force the principles of the League of Nations Labor Bureau upon particular nations. We are publishing in this number an article explain-

ing the methods of this International Labor Bureau that exists as an instrumentality of the League of Nations. Its work is useful and commendable; but it would be disastrous to insist that the League should be empowered to use the collective force of its members as against any particular country that failed to enforce the rules and doctrines of this Labor Bureau. Japan most certainly would resent an attempt to compel its competing textile factories to operate under English trades union rules.

*The Opium  
Conference  
at Geneva*

One of the great international problems that can not be ignored or side-tracked is that of opium production and restriction. It would not be very creditable to the League of Nations if its assumption of jurisdiction in this matter of world concern should prove less efficient than the conferences and treaties that had made so much progress before the Great War, under the leadership of the Government of the United States. The Third International Opium Conference was held at The Hague in 1914, a short time previous to the beginning of the war. The fourth conference on opium is about to be held at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations. It will be the business

of this conference to give effect to what have been recognized as American principles, namely: that the cultivation of opium must be restricted, as also that of the plant from which cocaine is derived. The one remedy for the increasing menace of drugs is to deal with the evil at its source. Fortunately the Assembly of the League of Nations last year accepted this American principle. But certain countries have financial interests at stake, and it is not going to be altogether easy to give realization to last year's promises. The American point of view will be ably presented at Geneva, but it needs to be intelligently and vigorously supported by public opinion here at home.

*A Religious  
Conference in  
Switzerland*

When the representatives of the League of Nations assembled at Geneva at the beginning of September, there was in session at Mürren, in Switzerland, a remarkable conference of religious leaders who had been assembled as the guests of Sir Henry Lunn, and who were seeking to discover more clearly the fundamental unity of Christian denominations in spite of ecclesiastical distinctions and doctrinal differences. Sir Henry Lunn is a remarkable Englishman who has been devoted for many years to the ideals of a more generous and a more efficient coöperation of different branches of the Christian Church—particularly in Great Britain—for the support of the religious basis of individual and community life. Among the various undertakings of an active career, Sir Henry Lunn edits and conducts an admirable quarterly periodical, *The Review of the Churches*. Our frontispiece this month shows a group of the religious leaders photographed at the recent Mürren Conference.

*International  
Sympathies*

The majority of those in attendance at Mürren were eminent Englishmen, including Bishops, clergymen of the Church of England, with leaders of the Church of Ireland, Presbyterians from Scotland and Ulster as well as from England, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and several members of Parliament and distinguished educators. But there were also present Continental Europeans including the Archbishop of Upsala, Professor Deissmann and others from Germany, Prof. Paul Sabatier and others from France, and there were several Americans. It was undoubtedly the feeling

of this conference that the peace of Europe must depend in great measure upon the revival of religious feeling and the growth of charity and good-will among the churches of particular countries and also across international boundaries. Frenchmen and Germans sat together in a spirit of mutual esteem, and of common hope for the triumph of a spirit of righteousness that might overcome fear and distrust. These religious leaders at Mürren earnestly favored the Dawes program and the steps taken at Geneva toward arbitration and disarmament.

*The "Golden  
Rule" in  
Practice*

At the moment of the assembling of the nations for the meeting of the League, there was held at Geneva, under the auspices of the Near East Relief, a remarkable dinner over which the Belgian statesman, Paul Hymans, President of the Assembly of the League, presided. This so-called "Golden Rule Dinner," so far as its menu was concerned, was limited to the ordinary food that is supplied to children in the orphanages that are carried on by the Near East Relief for the care of refugee Armenian and Greek children. The dinner was organized



CHARLES V. VICKREY, THE EXECUTIVE HEAD  
OF NEAR EAST RELIEF



A GROUP AT SIR HENRY LUNN'S RECENT CONFERENCE AT MURREN, SWITZERLAND (See frontispiece)

(At the left is Dr. Bernard, Provost of Trinity College and formerly Archbishop. In the center is Sir Henry Lunn himself, and at the right is the Archbishop of Upsala)

by the American leaders of this movement; and besides the Europeans who addressed it there were timely remarks by Messrs. Wickersham and Morgenthau of New York and by Mr. Charles V. Vickrey, the General Secretary and chief executive officer of the great organization known as "Near East Relief." A series of Golden Rule dinners has been planned for many places in the United States, and one was held in New York at the new Hotel Roosevelt, September 25, another at Chicago on October 9, with plans for a Boston dinner October 21, and a notable one at Washington on the 24th. Dr. John H. Finley presided at the New York dinner. Among the speakers were Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, representatives of the Near East Relief work, and Messrs. Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor, William G. Lee of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, McBride of the Locomotive Firemen, and

Felix Warburg. There is no more worthy charity than that which is so excellently administered by the heads of this relief movement. It is not only saving the lives of many thousands of helpless children, but it is caring for them in such a way that it may be confidently believed that they will grow up to take leading places in the future reconstruction of the regions around the eastern Mediterranean.

#### *The British Election*

The rapidity with which election machinery works in Great Britain, as compared with the American machinery, is illustrated in the pending contest over the election of a new Parliament. As our readers will remember, Parliament adjourned on August 12 for the usual holiday season, with a new session called for September 30 in order to deal with the Irish Boundary bill. When the session opened, it appeared that both Tories and



Liberals were prepared to censure or criticize the MacDonald Ministry for having abandoned the prosecution of a Communist editor who had published an article that was regarded as seditious. On this issue the Tories and Liberals came together in sufficient strength to defeat Mr. MacDonald and his Government. He could have averted the crisis if he had seriously attempted to do so; but upon careful consultation with his colleagues he had made up his mind that it was better to accept defeat, resign from power, and appeal to the country. The King accepted Premier MacDonald's advice and the general election was ordered, the Labor Government remaining in office until the new Parliament could be chosen and could meet and form a new Ministry.

*Fall of  
the Labor  
Ministry*

If the Labor Cabinet had not accepted defeat on this rather trifling issue, it would probably have been overthrown several weeks later when its tentative agreements with Russia would have to be submitted for the approval of the House of Commons. Before closing shop and starting the electoral

campaign, the Irish Boundary bill was duly passed through the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The Belfast Government had persistently refused to appoint a commissioner to help in the adjustment of the boundary between Ulster and the Free State, and the purpose of the bill at Westminster was to enable the British Government to name Ulster's commissioner. This Irish question was not involved in the defeat of the MacDonald Government.

*MacDonald's  
Achievements*

Mr. Simonds, in his comments on European affairs in our present number, pays a high tribute to the success achieved by Ramsay MacDonald, particularly in his foreign policy. It is generally admitted in England as well as upon the Continent that Mr. MacDonald has been one of the ablest and most successful of all England's foreign ministers. He was able to restore good relations with France, and by virtue of his cooperation with Premier Herriot he secured the acceptance of the Dawes plan. His influence, perhaps more than that of any other individual, gave to the League of Nations its enhanced importance, as shown in its recent session at Geneva. Associated with him have been a number of men of unusual ability. It was only by virtue of support from the Liberal party, led by Messrs. Asquith and Lloyd George, that Mr. MacDonald, lacking a majority in Parliament, was able to carry on the Government. He could not have been expected, therefore, to launch original or striking policies as regards domestic affairs. It is admitted that, with Mr. Philip Snowden as Chancellor of the Exchequer, the problems of taxation and finance have been well handled, while measures for the relief of unemployment have been such as could be agreed upon under conditions that no ministry could have altered by any magical schemes. Great bitterness has arisen between the leaders of the Labor party and those of the Liberals, and in about fifty constituencies there are Tory-Liberal coalitions in order to prevent Labor from winning in three-cornered fights. The election will be held on October 29, six days ahead of our election.

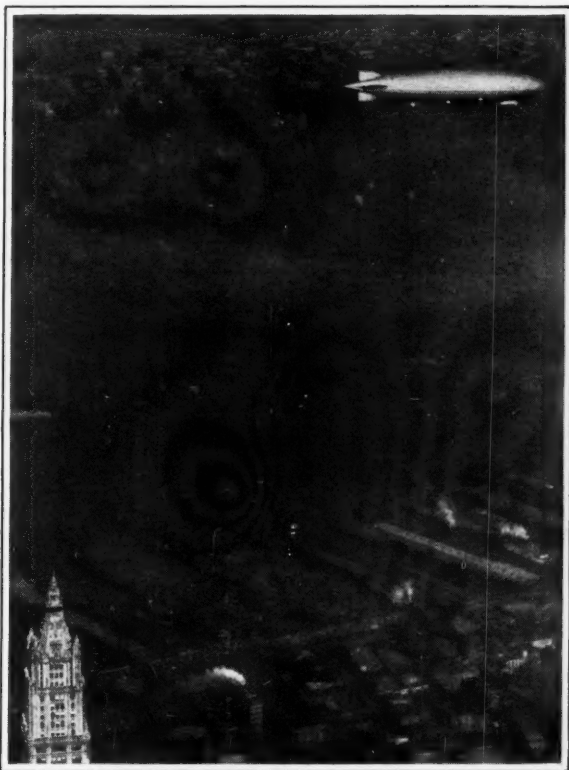


RAMSAY MACDONALD WITH HIS FAMOUS AUTOMOBILE



*Our  
Giant  
Airships*

We have had occasion in these pages, during recent months, to chronicle several notable achievements within the field of aviation. There was the flight of Lieutenant Maughan across the continent from New York to San Francisco within the span of a single day, last June. Then there followed the flight around the world, by army aviators also, which ended in September. Both of those accomplishments were with airplanes, or heavier-than-air machines. To make the season still more noteworthy we now have witnessed the voyage of an airship, a craft lighter than air, from Germany to the United States. One of the countless minor items of the agreement that ended the war provided that Germany should surrender to the Allies her fleet of Zeppelins; and when those airships were found to have been destroyed Germany was required to pay their value in cash or else to build new vessels. The United States elected to receive a Zeppelin. Delivery of that ship last month created a new record in long-distance, non-stop flight by any type of aircraft. Starting from Lake Constance on Sunday, October 12, the ZR-3 flew across France and a corner of Spain the first day. The Azores were passed on Monday afternoon. Early in the morning of Wednesday, the fourth day, the giant dirigible reached the mainland and proceeded to its hangar at Lakehurst, N. J. Its proud German crew meanwhile had seized an opportunity to maneuver the ZR-3 over New York City, so that several million Americans were treated to a magnificent spectacle which they will not soon forget. The entire voyage of 5,000 miles consumed eighty-one hours, an average speed in excess of a mile a minute. This new addition to our aircraft will—like its sister ship, the *Shenandoah*, built at Lakehurst—be in charge of the Navy for a time although it is designed for commercial use. While the ZR-3 was on its way to America the *Shenandoah*



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THE ZR-3 FLYING OVER THE WOOLWORTH TOWER,  
NEW YORK CITY

was engaged in a flight across the continent and along the Pacific coast.

*Strife and  
Chaos in  
China*

The sixth anniversary of the armistice which ended the Great War finds the nations of the world at peace with each other, only minor internal conflicts marring the occasion. Much has been heard of recent civil strife in China, where the ambitions of rival provincial governors have resulted in considerable loss of life and has threatened to involve still larger numbers. Foreign intervention was a possibility, for the fighting occurred within a few miles of Shanghai and endangered the lives and property of thousands of white residents. First fighting had occurred on August 27 and had continued until October 14, when the armies of Kiangsu province—with federal support—defeated the defenders of Chekiang province (Shanghai). An outbreak in Canton on October 15, wholly unrelated to that at



DR. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, NOTABLE  
AMONG NEW YORK PREACHERS

Shanghai, seemed to indicate that the beligerent spirit was epidemic in China. There a volunteer protective corps had been organized by merchants and promptly spanked by a "red" army of laborers. A lone Chinaman is a peaceful citizen; but multiply him by a million, and place him under the restless misdirection of a "general" exercising civil as well as military authority—with a similar situation existing in each bordering province—and you have what very closely resembles the traditional torch and powder barrel.

*Spain  
in  
Morocco*

When a bloodless revolution in Spain two years ago took the government out of the hands of politicians and placed it in control of a group of military leaders, the world was led to believe that a result not long deferred would be an abandonment of the age-long effort to conquer Morocco. It was argued that the Spanish Army, being in political authority, would not be likely to persist in a guerrilla warfare when there was so little chance for glory and so much opportunity for failure. Primo de Rivera, Marquis and General, took his place with Mussolini of Italy as a dictator whose task it was to save his country in the interest of the common people. But the situation has grown

from bad to worse. The military disaster of June, 1921, was hardly more serious than the defeats recently inflicted upon the soldiers of Spain by Moroccan tribesmen. Censorship is thorough in a case of this kind, but fragmentary dispatches reveal many rumors of retreat while the sole cause for rejoicing in Spain was the relief of an isolated outpost. Meanwhile Spain's most distinguished private citizen—Vlasco Ibañez, of "Four Horsemen" fame—has given vent to a tirade against the present government and especially against the King. From a safe position in Paris he will devote his energies to the establishment of a republican form of government.

*Dr. Fosdick  
and the  
Theologians*

In an eloquent speech at a recent New York dinner, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick said:

Returning from a trip to Europe, I have upon my heart this burden: America is the strongest nation in the world; none so untouched by the ravages of war; none so secure in the enjoyment of prosperity. But across the centuries, I hear a voice saying to nations, as well as to individuals, "He that would be greatest among you, let him be the servant of all."

Dr. Fosdick declared that the great problem of the world to-day is international, and he appealed to us to cultivate a world-wide outlook and sympathy. In introducing Dr. Fosdick on that occasion, Dr. Finley declared that "he is the greatest preacher I have ever heard and I hope to have him as my preacher the rest of my days." Dr. Finley himself is a Presbyterian, and belongs to the First Presbyterian Church, where for some years past Dr. Fosdick has been the regular preacher and the associate pastor. Meanwhile, Dr. Fosdick is a professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York, and by training and church membership he is a Baptist. His theological views were recently made the subject of attack before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, but he was vindicated by that body. Now, however, the New York Presbytery has decided that Dr. Fosdick must accept Presbyterian creeds and join the Presbyterian Church, or else resign from his position as preacher. In a statement that has attracted wide notice, Dr. Fosdick declines to subscribe to the formulas of bygone theologians, and he accepts the alternative. The discussion has been carried on with the utmost courtesy on both sides; but the differences as disclosed in the

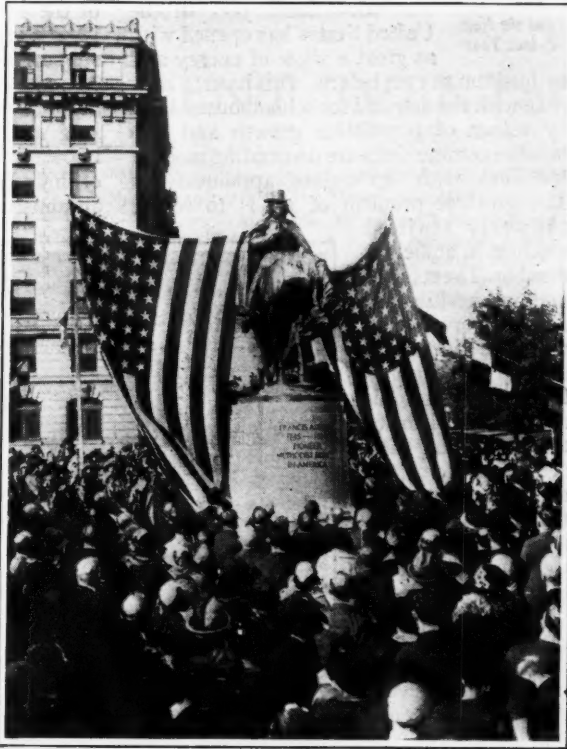
controversy between the Fundamentalists and those whom they oppose are not easy to bridge over.

*In Memory of Bishop Asbury* On October 16th there was unveiled at Washington a statue of the pioneer Methodist Bishop, Francis Asbury, who came as a young Wesleyan preacher from England to America in October, 1771, and under whose leadership Methodism made its great progress in the period of the Revolution and immediately after. He died in Virginia in 1816, after a career of amazing activity and noble devotion. President Coolidge made the principal address upon this memorable occasion that brought together the northern and southern branches of the Methodist Church, with addresses by Bishops Hamilton, Cannon and others. Seldom has Mr. Coolidge more clearly disclosed the strength of his own religious convictions than in his exceptionally fine tribute to the life and work of a great American pioneer. The following is a typical paragraph from the President's speech:

Our government rests upon religion. It is from that source that we derive our reverence for truth and justice, for equality and liberty, and for the rights of mankind. Unless the people believe in these principles they can not believe in our government. There are only two main theories of government in the world. One rests on righteousness, the other rests on force. One appeals to reason, the other appeals to the sword. One is exemplified in a republic, the other is represented by a despotism.

It is worth while also to quote another paragraph, which emphasizes the truth that laws do but express the moral and social character of a people:

The government of a country never gets ahead of the religion of a country. There is no way by which we can substitute the authority of law for the virtue of man. Of course we can help to restrain the vicious and furnish a fair degree of security and protection by legislation and police control, but the real reforms which society in these days is seeking will come as a result of our religious convictions, or they will not come at all. Peace, justice, humanity, charity—these can not be legislated into being.



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A SCENE AT THE UNVEILING OF THE ASBURY MONUMENT  
IN WASHINGTON

A week earlier, on October 9, President Coolidge had addressed the American Civic Association and the Institute of Park Executives, who were holding a joint three-day session in Washington and were dealing especially with matters related to national, State and municipal parks and recreation grounds. He presented with remarkable clearness the advantages of out-door recreation, and the necessity of bringing country and city together so that each may share what is best in the other. One of his opening paragraphs was in the following phrases:

The American Civic Association represents a broad program which aims at bettering the living conditions, the entire physical surroundings, of the people. One finds in its program something of the general idea of taking to city life as much as possible of the best that country life affords; and, in return, of giving to country life so much as may be feasible of the best elements that contribute to existence in the city. It is a good and a wise program, certain to bring large benefits to both country and city, if it is wrought into the substance of practical accomplishments.

*Education  
and the New  
School Year*

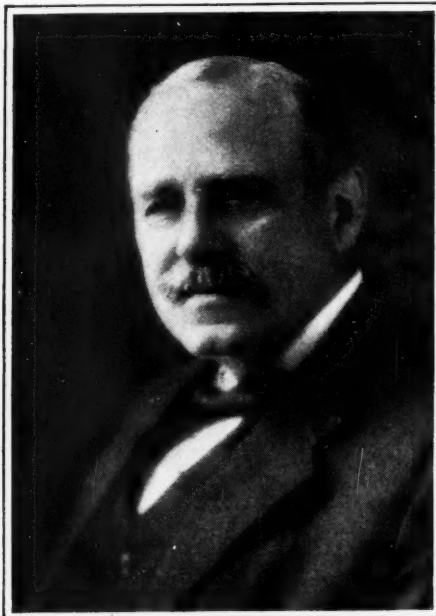
The educational year in the United States has opened with as great a show of energy and enthusiasm as ever before. It is hard to keep pace with the demand for schoolhouses, both by reason of population growth and also because communities are demanding modern buildings with up-to-date appointments. The greatest problem of all is to secure properly trained teachers in sufficient number. The colleges and universities are almost overwhelmed with the throngs of students who apply for entrance to freshmen classes. Educators are turning their attention from the question of quantity to that of quality, and are trying to find ways to make educational machinery produce better results. While there is no reason for pessimism, there is every reason for open-mindedness and willingness to adopt improvements. In view of the difficulties that had to be overcome, it is perhaps true that there has been greater relative progress in the education of our Negro population in the South during recent years than in any other department of America's educational effort.

*A Man of Affairs  
Who Promotes Education*

As regards American universities and colleges, their growth in endowments and physical resources since the beginning of the present century has been far greater than could have been predicted. A single institution like Harvard University has now almost as much property, in the form of endowments alone, as all the colleges of the country possessed half a century ago; and its recent appeal for additional funds to endow certain special departments has been promptly met. Thus Mr. George F. Baker of New York has given five million dollars for the endowment

of the Harvard School of Business Administration; and an equal sum is in sight for the support of certain scientific departments. The new chairman of the Board of Overseers of Harvard is Mr. Howard Elliott, who has long served on the board and is as widely known in the West as in the East by reason of his distinguished career as a railroad administrator and man of affairs. At a time

when the country can find among practical railroad men such transportation leaders as Howard Elliott, than whom no Americans are more public-spirited and high-minded, it would seem sheer madness to throw the railroad system into the vortex of partisan politics. In a commencement speech recently given at Trinity College by Mr. Elliott, referring to the clamor for Government ownership of railroads, occur the following timely sentences:



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MR. HOWARD ELLIOTT, CHAIRMAN OF THE NORTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY AND PUBLIC-SPIRITED CITIZEN, WHO IS ALSO PRESIDENT OF THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF NEW YORK

With our present methods of political management of affairs, to add 2,000,000 public servants to our already over-burdened machine is an appalling prospect. I believe the great majority of our people are

opposed to Government ownership, and would prefer to have private ownership with responsible, reasonable, and protective regulation. The regulators, however, are groping in the dark and are making some mistakes. You, who are going to make public opinion in the future, will have to pay attention to this important transportation question, and regulate the regulators so that they do their work in a common-sense and businesslike manner.

Mr. Elliott believes that the schools and colleges should fit men and women for serious work, and for useful and responsible service to the community. He declares that the educated man should "lift up his voice in favor of the preservation of our institutions, and stand strongly for the Constitution of the United States against pernicious doctrines."



# RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From September 15 to October 15, 1924)

## AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 16.—The New Mexico Democratic convention names Samuel Bratton for U. S. Senator.

September 18.—Secretary Mellon opens the files of the Treasury Department to the Senate investigating committee headed by Senator Couzens (Rep., Mich.)

The Connecticut Democratic convention names Charles G. Morris of Newtown for Governor.

September 20.—William Allen White files papers as an independent candidate for Governor of Kansas, with the announced purpose of ridding his State of the Klan.

September 21.—John W. Davis, Democratic nominee, returns to New York after a campaign tour (during the past three weeks) of nine Middle Western States.

Secretary of the Navy Wilbur is directed to start an inquiry into relative values of naval aircraft, battleships, and submarines, and to revise budget estimates for the next fiscal year accordingly.

September 23.—The New Jersey primaries result in nomination of ex-Senator Walter E. Edge for United States Senator on the Republican ticket and of F. W. Donnelly by the Democrats.

Admiral L. W. Eberle is appointed head of a naval board to investigate appropriation needs for aircraft and other services.

September 25.—The New York Republican convention nominates for Governor Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., and adopts a platform denouncing the Klan by name.

The California Supreme Court refuses to permit LaFollette electors to be placed on the ballot as independents, and they will apparently have to run under the Socialist party heading.

September 26.—Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., resigns as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, to campaign for Governor of New York.

The New York Democratic convention renominates Governor Alfred E. Smith; prohibition and the Klan are condemned in the State platform.

September 29.—Col. Thomas W. Miller resigns as Alien Property Custodian, becoming president of the Inter-Allied World War Veterans Association.

September 30.—Rhode Island Democrats, in convention, name Governor William S. Flynn for United States Senator and Lieut.-Gov. Felix A. Toupin for Governor.

October 1.—The assessed valuation of real and personal property in New York City, for 1925, is fixed at \$13,145,567,745, an increase of \$1,584,591,476 over the present year.

October 2.—Rhode Island Republicans, in convention, nominate Jess H. Metcalf for Senator and Aram J. Pothier for Governor.

October 3.—Smith W. Brookhart, Senator from Iowa and Republican nominee for reelection, denounces President Coolidge as the candidate of the

"Wall Street bloc"; he is promptly read out of the Republican party by the State Committee.

October 4.—At Herrin, Ill., a grand jury indicts twelve persons for murder in the recent Ku Klux Klan riots; Sheriff George Galligan, State's Attorney Delos Duty, and City Judge E. N. Bowen are among those indicted, and all are anti-Klan.

October 5.—The Federal Trade Commission publishes its partial report on the aluminum industry, stating that the Aluminum Company of America has "a practically complete monopoly"; the investigation was ordered by Congress in 1921.

Senator LaFollette starts off on a campaign tour for the presidency, extending from Washington, D. C., to the Pacific Coast.

October 6.—A Louisiana District Court dismisses a suit by LaFollette supporters brought to compel printing the Liberty Bell emblem and LaFollette electors on the ballots; appeal is taken to the State Supreme Court.

October 7.—Senator William E. Borah, in his first speech of the campaign at Idaho Falls, assails the Republican party for its faults but praises Mr. Coolidge.

October 11.—President Coolidge, in a radio address from Washington, announces his policy on big business as "a true and practical ideal of working coöperation set up in the relation between business and the public in accord with the dictates of common sense."

October 13.—Secretary Charles E. Hughes, in a political speech at Indianapolis, Ind., states the policy of the Administration toward the League of Nations and the recent protocol, saying that the people "would never tolerate the submission to any power or group of powers the determination of our domestic questions."

Secretary of the Navy Wilbur offers a revised budget estimate of \$330,000,000 instead of \$350,000,000, which the Budget Bureau had reduced by \$30,000,000; the aviation appropriation is sought to be increased.

October 14.—Wyoming Democrats, in an emergency convention, nominate Mrs. Nellie G. Ross for Governor, to take the place of her late husband.

October 15.—Col. Jay J. Morrow retires as Governor of the Panama Canal Zone and is succeeded by Col. Meriwether L. Walker.

## FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

September 18.—The Georgian revolution is reported under control by the Soviet forces, who hold the Batum-Baku railroad and have captured Tiflis, driving the rebels into the mountains.

September 19.—The Chinese Government at Peking declares war on General Chang Tso-lin, of Manchuria; General Wu Pei-fu is made commander-in-chief of the Peking armies.

September 21.—The Government of Ecuador announces the defeat and dispersal of rebels under

Dr. Rafael Florencio Arizaga and Jacinto Jijon Camano.

September 23.—The German Cabinet unanimously decides to take steps for securing membership by Germany in the League of Nations.

General Chang Tso-lin captures Chaoyang, a village in northern Chihli Province.

September 20.—President Obregon of Mexico signs a decree declaring that Plutarco Elias Calles is President-elect.

September 30.—The British Parliament reassembles to take up, particularly, the Irish boundary dispute and the Russian trade treaty ratification.

October 2.—The Irish Boundary bill passes the House of Commons, 251 to 99; it provides for a commission to determine the boundary between Ulster and the Free State, they not having agreed.

October 3.—King Hussein abdicates both the throne of the Hedjaz and the Caliphate of all the Moslems under pressure of attack on Mecca by Wahabi tribesmen.

The mission of Zaghlul Pasha, Premier of Egypt, to the British Government at London, comes to an end; it is understood that he obtained no concessions strengthening Egypt's international position.

October 5.—Sherif Ali, Emir of Medina and eldest son of former King Hussein, is elected King of the Hedjaz; he does not succeed to the Caliphate.

October 8.—The Labor Government is defeated in the House of Commons, by vote of 364 to 198, the Conservatives and Liberals combining to order a Parliamentary inquiry into the suspension of prosecution of James Ross Campbell for an article of a communistic nature published in the *Workers' Weekly*.

Chancellor Marx demands of the various German parties support of the Constitution, the Dawes plan, and Germany's application for membership in the League; the Centrists assent but the Democrats condition their cooperation on that of the Nationalists and Socialists, who request further information although accepting in principle.

October 9.—The House of Lords passes the Irish Boundary bill, and it receives the royal assent.

The British Parliament is dissolved as a result of the MacDonald ministry; general elections are set for October 20.

October 13.—The British Conservatives and Liberals consolidate in a number of election districts to avoid a three party fight with Labor.

Gen. Lu Yung-hsiang, military Governor of Chekiang province, surrenders Shanghai to the Peking government forces and escapes to Japan.

October 15.—The Irish Free State Dail passes the Irish Boundary bill, and it goes to the Senate.

Dr. Hjalmar Branting attempts to form a new Swedish Cabinet to succeed that of Ernst Trygger.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 15.—As a result of Moroccan victories, the Spanish Army in the Tangier peninsula is reported about to withdraw over an extensive line.

September 18.—The American-German Mixed Claims Commission awards \$65,300,000 in war claims against Germany; \$24,300,000 goes to the Veterans' Bureau for war risk marine insurance and \$34,700,000 to private marine insurance companies.

September 20.—Prince Gelasio Caetani resigns

as Ambassador from Italy to the United States. Spanish forces capture Gorgues, the key mountain position dominating Tetuan, recently cut off by Morocco tribesmen.

A Swiss-Italian Treaty of arbitration is signed at Rome, providing for a conciliation commission with appeal to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

September 21.—The Prince of Wales, after a vacation of three weeks on Long Island, N. Y., leaves for his ranch in Alberta, Canada.

September 22.—Dr. Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia submits a new plan for arbitration and security to the League Committee on Security and Armaments; if three or four member governments of the Council and ten other League members ratify the protocol before May 1, an armament-reduction conference will be held in June, 1925; non-member nations may adhere to the protocol.

September 23.—The new Chilean Government announces, through Foreign Minister Carlos Aldunate, that it has been recognized by Germany, Great Britain, and the Holy See.

September 24.—Anglo-German trade treaty negotiations break down over the question of practically prohibitive German tariffs on imported English goods now being placed in the draft of the new German tariff law.

The Mosul controversy is brought before the League Council by Great Britain, which claims that Mosul has been invaded by the Turks, contrary to the Lausanne Treaty; Turkey demands a plebiscite, disputing Irak sovereignty over Mosul.

September 26.—The League Assembly's Disarmament Commission is gravely concerned over Japan's objection to the protocol for arbitration and security, which defines as "aggressor" any state refusing to abide by an arbitral decision that has declared a dispute to be founded upon a purely domestic question (for example, immigration).

September 27.—The United States and Santo Domingo agree on a most-favored-nation treaty regarding commercial matters.

September 30.—The League protocol for arbitration and security is revised to meet Japanese objections; a decision by the World Court, that a matter is "domestic" only, shall not prevent its consideration by the League.

A German trade delegation arrives at Paris to negotiate a commercial treaty with France.

The German Ambassador to France, Leopold von Hoesch, presents a note to M. Herriot stating the conditions on which Germany will join the League of Nations; she desires a permanent seat on the Council and relief (because of her small army) from participation in applying sanctions under the protocol.

October 1.—In the League Assembly, Aristide Briand pledges unqualified French ratification of the protocol on arbitration and security, which is presented for approval.

A French magistrate, investigating an accusation of piracy, says that 150,000 cases of whisky, brandy, and wine appear to have entered the United States from France through New England during June.

October 2.—The Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations ends at Geneva, with adoption by forty-seven member nations of a protocol of amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations, relating to arbitration.

October 5.—The Rumanian moratorium on foreign debts is extended for another three months.

October 6.—The French reply to the German note on League membership raises no objection, but calls attention to disarmament requirements.

October 7.—Prof. Timothy A. Smiddy is received by President Coolidge as the first Minister from the Irish Free State.

October 10.—A contract for a loan of 800,000,000 gold marks (\$200,000,000) to Germany is signed at London by international bankers (part of the Dawes plan for aiding Germany); an American syndicate agrees to take \$110,000,000.

October 13.—Turkey protests to the League Council over British adherence to the Lausanne Treaty boundary line between Irak and Turkey, claiming the true line is as of September 30, when the Council took up arbitration of the Mosul dispute under the Lausanne Treaty on request of both disputants.

October 14.—The German loan of \$110,000,000, at 92 with 7 per cent. interest, is oversubscribed at New York.

Japan notifies Peking and Mukden that she will protect her rights in Manchuria and Mongolia, although she reasserts her policy of non-intervention in the Chinese civil war.

October 15.—British and Swedish investors quickly subscribe for the entire German loan bond quotas of their respective countries, Britain taking up £12,000,000; the French portion of £3,000,000 is reported subscribed before issued.

Ambassador Sheffield presents his credentials to President Obregon of Mexico.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

September 15.—The Children's Court at New York City, under a constitutional amendment, assumes civil instead of criminal status, after twenty years of operation, thus enabling cases of child delinquents under sixteen to be considered without criminal stigma, except when charged with murder.

A new cable between the United States and Santo Domingo is opened by All America Cables, Inc.

September 16.—The United States polo team retains the international cup for another three years, defeating the British challengers in the second and final game, 14 to 5.

The Italian Minister of Education declares that Professor de Martino-Fusco has not discovered the codices of Livy (whose "History of Rome" was written nearly 2000 years ago), but only data relative to them.

A mine explosion near Kemmerer, Wyo., buries 61 men.

September 18.—A million-dollar failure occurs in a New York Stock Exchange house, due to defalcation of a member of the firm.

September 19.—The Western Union Telegraph Company completes its cable to the Azores from New York and sends 1700 words a minute in tests over the new line.

At St. Paul, Minn., the American Legion elects as national commander James A. Drain, a lawyer of Washington, D. C., and a colonel in the Great War.

Capt. Donald B. MacMillan reaches the Maine coast with the *Bowdoin*, after fifteen months in the Arctic around northern Greenland, studying ice fields and currents.

September 21.—The Federal Reserve Bank at New York City moves \$3,000,000,000 in cash and negotiable securities to its new building on Nassau, William, and Liberty Streets.

September 23.—Howard Elliott, chairman of the Northern Pacific Railway, is elected president of Harvard University's Board of Overseers.

September 25.—Philadelphia celebrates the 150th anniversary of the first Continental Congress; an address by President Coolidge is a feature of a day of pageantry and veneration.

September 28.—The first airplane flight around the world comes to an official end at Seattle; two army airplanes completed the entire journey, flying 27,000 miles since March 17.

October 1.—Baseball Commissioner Kennesaw Mountain Landis suspends two players of the New York "Giants" for attempted bribery.

October 3.—At Dayton, Ohio, the army dirigible TC-5 launches a Sperry messenger airplane in midair—the first time such a feat has been performed.

October 6.—Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Baptist special preacher at the First Presbyterian Church in New York, resigns after refusing the Presbytery's demand that he affirm the theological views of the Westminster Confession (adopted in 1647); Dr. Fosdick is a leader of modern religious views.

The third National Radio Conference is opened at Washington, D. C.

October 8.—Construction work is completed on a new bridge across the Hudson River above Peekskill, N. Y., with the longest single span in the world (1623 ft.); it is privately built, designed for automobile traffic.

October 10.—The world series baseball championship is won, 4 games to 3, by the Washington "Senators" (American League) against the New York "Giants" (National League).

October 12.—The dirigible ZR-3 leaves Friedrichshafen, Germany, for delivery to the United States as part of Germany's reparation payment; she is 656 feet long and can carry fifty persons (passengers and crew and a cargo).

The dirigible *Shenandoah* arrives at San Diego, Cal., on a voyage from Lakehurst, N. J., to Camp Lewis, Wash.

October 15.—The ZR-3 arrives at Lakehurst, N. J., from Germany, having flown 5000 miles in 81 hours.

#### OBITUARY

September 14.—Charles Zueblin, lecturer and former professor of sociology in the University of Chicago, 58.

September 15.—Harry Victor Andrews, of New York, editor and journalist, 56. . . . Frank LeRoy Chance, Chicago baseball player and manager, long known as the "peerless leader," 47. . . . Timothy Nicholson, of Indiana, noted Quaker and prison reformer, 95.

September 16.—Thomas J. Akins, long prominent in Missouri Republican politics, 72. . . . Arthur S. Huey, Chicago banker and promoter of western public utilities, 62.

September 17.—John F. Brown, Judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, 76. . . . William L. Douglas, shoe manufacturer and former Governor of Massachusetts, 79.

September 18.—Almet Francis Jenks, former presiding justice of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court, 71. . . . Frederick Stitzel, inventor of the railroad semaphore, 81. . . . Mrs. May Jane Weaver, of Batavia, N. Y., evangelist and reformer, 91. . . . Martin C. Ebel, publisher of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, 52.

September 19.—John Martin Schaeberle, astronomer, of Ann Arbor, Mich., 71. . . . Dr. David Combs English, former president of the New Jersey Medical Society, 82. . . . Francis Herbert Bradley, noted English philosopher, 78. . . . Dr. Clinton L. Bagg, a distinguished New York surgeon, 68. . . . James Carruthers, known as Canada's "wheat king," 72.

September 20.—Edward Whitmore Insley, Los Angeles journalist, 58. . . . Judge Harry Vairin Snead, inventor of the Government mail letter-box. . . . Sir Algernon Methuen, prominent London publisher, 68. . . . John Duvall Wallingford, Panama Canal District Judge, 55.

September 22.—William Stedman Greene, Representative from the Fall River, Mass., district since 1898, 83. . . . Robert Jackson Gamble, United States Senator from South Dakota, 1901-13, 73. . . . Rev. Samuel Thompson Lowrie, long a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman of Philadelphia, 89. . . . Francisco Bulnes, Mexican historian.

September 23.—Brig. Gen. Charles E. Sawyer, physician to the late President Harding, 64. . . . Major Frank Burton Andrus, veteran Indian fighter, 65. . . . Bernard Hazeliuss Rawl, former Assistant Chief of the Dairy Division, Department of Agriculture, 48. . . . Edward Hine Johnson, vice-president of the American News Company, 71.

September 24.—Prof. Allan Marquard, noted Princeton archeologist, 70. . . . Douglas G. Crawford, head of the English department of Boston University. . . . Herbert Lawrence Bridgman, of New York, newspaper publisher and explorer, 80.

September 25.—Herbert Wilbur Greene, Connecticut writer on music, 74. . . . Francis O. Lindquist, former Michigan Congressman, 55. . . . Charlotte Mignon ("Lotta") Crabtree, formerly a widely known comedienne, 77.

September 26.—Dr. Edmund Otis Hovey, noted geologist, 62. . . . Howard E. Shaw, Democratic candidate for Governor of Vermont, 57. . . . Viscount Walter Hume Long, former First Lord of the British Admiralty, 70. . . . Andrew W. Preston, president of the United Fruit Company, 78.

September 27.—Clinton Rogers, well known Rochester, N. Y., business man, 92.

September 28.—Dr. John Lorenzo Heffron, dean emeritus of Syracuse University college of medicine, 73. . . . Col. Joseph E. Fletcher, Providence, R. I., woolen manufacturer, 58. . . . Dr. Raymond Macdonald Alden, professor of English at Columbia University and formerly of Stamford, 51. . . . Miss Clara S. Ludlow, Washington, D. C., entomologist, 70.

September 29.—John Wesley Beatty, Sr., director emeritus of fine arts at Carnegie Institute, 74. . . . Henry Hentz, former president of the New York Cotton Exchange, 80. . . . Hugh Chisholm, editor of *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 58. . . . Julius Mendes Price, English war correspondent and artist. . . . Thomas Tomamota, Japanese actor in America, 45.

September 30.—Lewis Edwards Gates, former professor of English at Harvard, 64.

October 1.—Mrs. Florence Kelly Prentice, long president of the Bible Society of New York, 81. . . . Robert E. Deforest, Connecticut lawyer and jurist and former member of Congress, 81.

October 2.—William Bradford Ross, Governor of Wyoming, 51. . . . Dr. Orville W. McMichael, noted Chicago tuberculosis specialist, 57. . . . Edward Nicklas Breitung, mining engineer and New York Banker, 52. . . . Sir William Price, prominent Canadian pulp manufacturer, 57. . . . Joel H. Reed, former judge of the Superior Court in Connecticut, 74.

October 3.—Benjamin Auguste Broca, noted French surgeon, 64.

October 5.—Joseph Press, widely known cellist and teacher, 41. . . . William Henry Simpson, Cincinnati banker, 63. . . . Warren Garst, Governor of Iowa for one month in 1908, 73. . . . Charles Scheuer, Atlantic City, N. J., publisher, 63.

October 6.—William Arnold Shanklin, president emeritus of Wesleyan University, 62. . . . Dr. Selian Neuhoof, of New York, an authority on diseases of the heart, 63. . . . Rev. Dr. James de Normandie, well-known Boston Unitarian, 88. . . . Dr. George Gifford, of Portland, Me., former editor, long in the consular service, 82. . . . Robert Edwin Bonner, one-time publisher of the *New York Ledger*, 70.

October 7.—Charles Lawrence Hutchinson, of Chicago, banker and founder of the Art Institute, 70. . . . Col. William Greene Sterett, Texas journalist, 77. . . . Samuel Rowland, New York philanthropist, 74. . . . Dr. Zachary Taylor Emery, former Health Commissioner of Brooklyn, N. Y., 77.

October 8.—James Edwin Creighton, dean of Cornell graduate school, 63. . . . Byron Groce, of Boston Latin School, 80. . . . John Foster, old-time comedian. . . . Dr. H. Amelia Wright, a pioneer woman physician, 86. . . . Sir James Hope-Simpson, British banker, 60.

October 9.—Valery Brusoff, Russian poet, 50.

October 10.—William Abner Garrett, Philadelphia engineer, 63.

October 11.—Prof. Edgar Lucien Larkin, director of Mount Lowe observatory and writer on astronomy, 77.

October 12.—Laurens Clark Seelye, president emeritus of Smith College, 87. . . . Sidney E. Mudd, Representative in Congress from Maryland, 39.

October 13.—Senator Frank Bosworth Brandegee, United States Senator from Connecticut since 1905, and a leading opponent of the League of Nations, 60. . . . Jacques Anatole Thibault ("Anatole France"), the French philosopher, author, and master of literary style, 80. . . . Prof. Jacques Oppenheim, noted Netherlands jurist and author, 75.

October 14.—Barr Ferree, author and editor in architecture, 60. . . . Mrs. Lewis B. (Helen Smith) Woodruff, author and playwright, 36.

October 15.—Henry Robinson Towne, lock manufacturer and author, 80. . . . Albert Alexander Blakeney, former Representative in Congress from Maryland, 74. . . . Carl Johan Mellin, consulting locomotive engineer and inventor, 73.



# THE CAMPAIGN CLOSES

A CARTOON SURVEY, INCLUDING FOREIGN TOPICS



WHY CHANGE THE PILOT?

From the *Democrat and Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)



IF IT WERE A BEAUTY CONTEST DAVIS WOULD BE SURE TO WIN

From the *News* (Cleveland, Ohio)



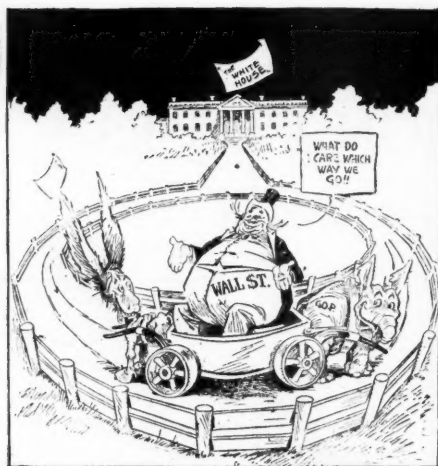
THE PRESIDENT IS SAYING NOTHING, BUT—

From the *Evening Post* (New York)



LOST PROVINCES?

By Kirby, in the *World* (New York)



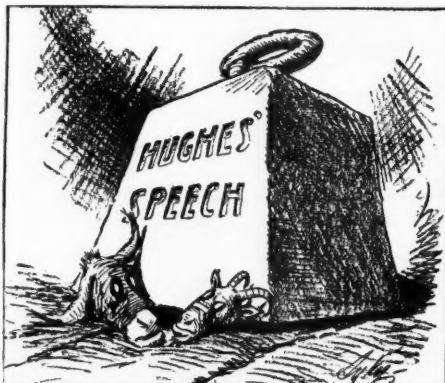
DAVIS OR COOLIDGE—THE SAME RESULT

From the Post (Birmingham, Ala.)



WHY LISTEN TO HIM, ANYWAY?

From the Inquirer © (Philadelphia, Pa.)



LET'S NOT ANSWER HIM!

From the Evening Post (New York)

[Speeches by Mr. Hughes have been a feature of the campaign]



BLOCKING THE WAY OF THE OLD-PARTY CANDIDATES

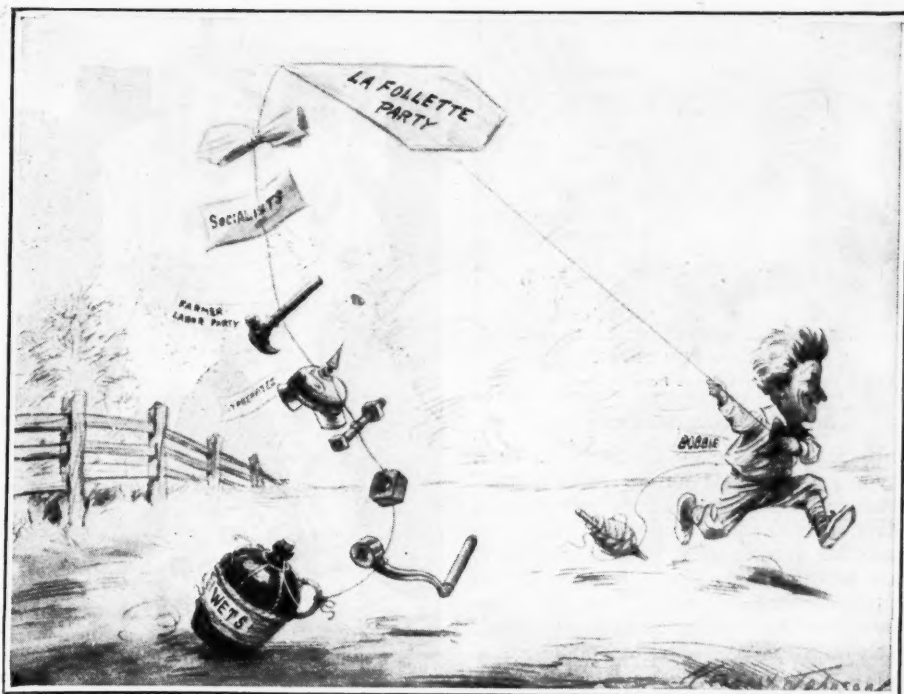
From the American © (New York)

THE present political campaign has had many notable features, but the chief element of doubt has continued to be the strength that the Third Party will be able to command at the polls on Election Day.



DAVIS AND GOLIATH

From the News (Dallas, Texas)



TOO MUCH TAIL FOR THE LAFOLLETTE KITE

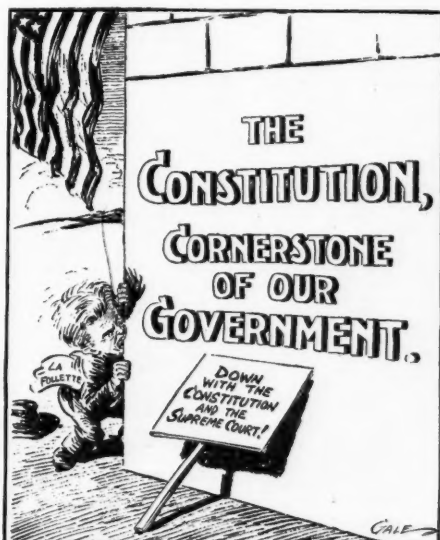
From the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia, Pa.)



AS LAFOLLETTE WOULD HAVE IT

From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

[One of the campaign proposals of Senator La Follette—which has subjected him to bitter criticism—is that the Supreme Court shall not have the power to overrule acts of Congress; in other words, that the will of the people, as expressed by their representatives, shall be supreme.]



THE WISCONSIN SENATOR ENGAGED IN THE TASK OF BITING ON GRANITE

From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)



### \$150,000,000 FOR FRANCE

UNCLE SAM: "You shall have from me, sweet treasure, a nice new golden set of teeth—but don't use them this time for more 'conquests.'"

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

Uncle Sam's money continues to be a favorite subject for foreign cartoon comment, although the points of view expressed differ in detail. His furnishing of more than half the \$200,000,000 loan to Germany, last month, has already resulted in an improved tone—though it had not penetrated to Australia when the *Bulletin's* cartoon, reproduced here, was published.



### UNCLE SAM'S PART IN THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

From *Krokodil* (Moscow, Russia)



### HORSEY! KEEP YOUR TAIL UP!

[Something substantial in the nosebag now]  
From the *Evening News* (Glasgow, Scotland)

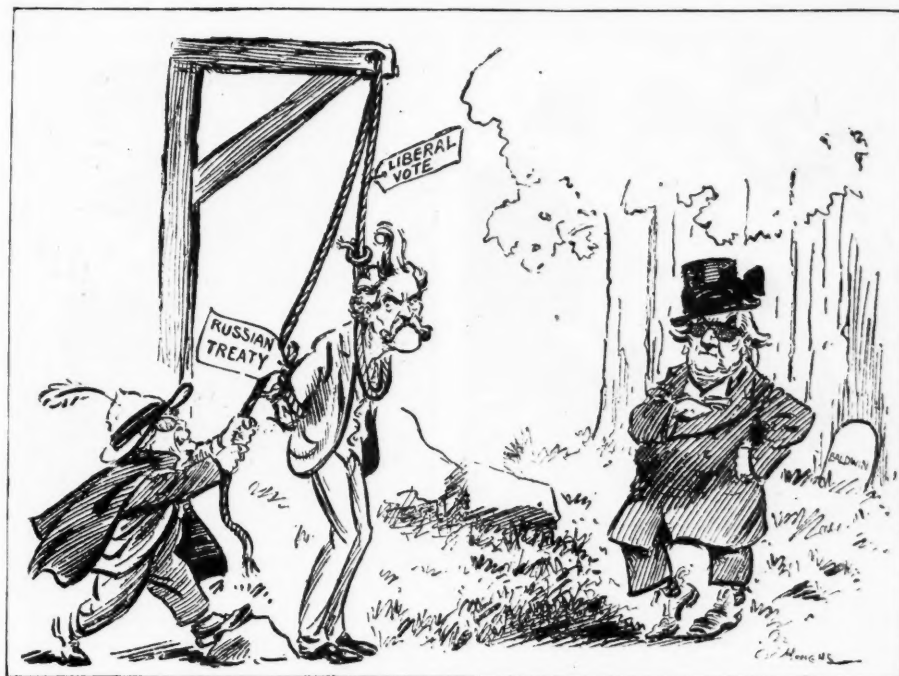


### THE GOLD KING

"The U. S. has become the miser of civilization. The money which, lent freely to the other nations of the world, might become the basis of new currency, is hoarded, idle and worthless."—*Professor Leacock*.

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)





### THE HANGMEN ON THE JOB AGAIN

From the *Evening Express* (Cardiff, Wales)

[Though this British cartoon pictures the Liberal leaders, Lloyd George and Asquith, as the hangmen it was of course a combination of Conservative and Liberal votes which caused the defeat of Premier MacDonald in Parliament last month. The Premier did not resign, but advised the King to dissolve Parliament and call new elections. No party controlled a majority in the last House of Commons]



### PATCHING BEGINS AT HOME

From the *Daily Express* (London, England)

[One of the causes of dissatisfaction with the MacDonald government has been a feeling that more attention has been given to helping business in Germany and Russia—through negotiation of commercial treaties—than to relieving unemployment conditions]



#### ENGLAND'S COMMERCIAL TREATIES WITH GERMANY AND RUSSIA

FRANCE: "Say, John, they are cheating!"

ENGLAND: "I know they are; but if I don't play with them I shall have a lot of trouble with my unemployed!"

From *Mucha* (Warsaw, Poland)

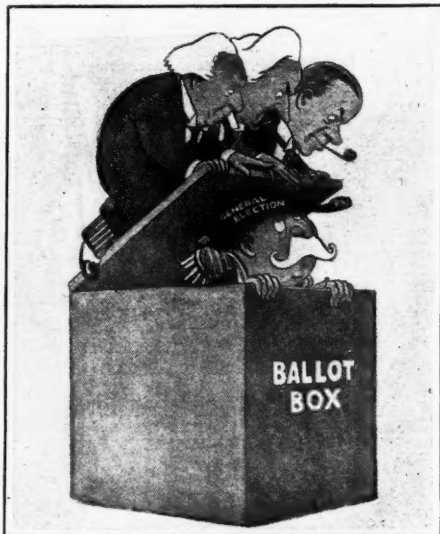
[This Polish cartoon presents a point of view differing from that expressed in the one at the bottom of the preceding page. Here John Bull is pictured as fraternizing with the German and Russian in order to help his own unemployed. In the other cartoon the British Premier is neglecting the domestic problem in his desire to help Germany and Russia.]



#### SPAIN'S COLONIAL FUTURE

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

[Spain's troubles in Morocco, across the Mediterranean, were not solved two years ago when military leaders ousted the politicians. In fact, the situation has been growing from bad to worse, and it is not impossible that Spain may be forced to withdraw from her most important colonial possession.]



#### NOBODY WANTED HIM OUT, BUT THEY COULDN'T KEEP HIM IN!

From *Opinion* (London, England)

[Responsibility for the British elections called for October 29—the second within a year—is denied by Liberals, Laborites and Conservatives, represented here in this cartoon by Asquith, MacDonald, and Baldwin.]



#### THE ANIMAL TAMER IN DISTRESS

JOHN BULL: "I should like to know whether I have them or whether they have me."

From *Kladderatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

[The Indian tiger, the Egyptian crocodile, and the Irish terrier are pictured as worrying their former master.]

# MAC DONALD FALLS—WHILE THE LEAGUE ADVANCES

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. LABOR GOES OUT

**I**N VIEW of the importance to America of the new Protocol adopted by the League of Nations at its recent session, I had planned to devote my comment this month exclusively to that, but the sudden fall of the British Labor Government and the repercussions it may have both within and without the United Kingdom, force an alteration of plan and I shall first deal with the British political circumstances and then with the Geneva Protocol.

MacDonald's fall had been so long expected as to be unexpected when it happened—moreover, it was unmistakable that those who furnished the votes, particularly the Liberals, did it with some hesitation and that up to the last moment London suspected that the new crisis would be arranged like many previous. A compromise, to be sure, might have been had, even at the last, but the Labor Premier saw quite clearly that while he might avoid defeat for a few weeks his fall was already inevitable, and would probably come on the Russian Treaty.

Accepting the battle offered him, MacDonald with utter boldness challenged the Liberals to turn him out largely because he felt that the fortunes of his government were at high tide. The Dawes Report had been put through under his direction a month before; Geneva had been a success in no small degree because of his presence; Anglo-French relations had been rescued from the status of armed neutrality punctuated by bitter recrimination, political peace and press warfare, and were better than at any moment since the close of the Paris Peace Conference five years before.

To be sure, the statement of achievement in the domestic field did not match that in the foreign, but whereas the Labor Government had been permitted a free hand abroad, it had been held as a minority gov-

ernment to very restricted limits at home—and even here Snowden's Budget had won praise beyond party lines. Winning or losing in the forthcoming election, MacDonald could calculate that the Labor Party was bound to profit by the record it had made in its first tenure of office, to profit by its positive accomplishments—to profit because despite all the panic prophecies which had preceded its taking office, it had done nothing to weaken national prosperity at home or prestige abroad.

More than this, MacDonald knew that the nation was bitterly opposed to another general election, the third in three years, and at that a general election forced over the utterly trivial assertion that the Government had intervened to obtain the acquittal of an ex-soldier who had written an inflammatory appeal to soldiers warning them against being used in domestic and economic strife. He calculated that an election thus precipitated might easily prove a boomerang for all responsible. And in the larger sense Labor could not lose, because it was always a minority government, doomed the moment the Tories and Liberals could screw up their courage to the censure pitch. Having to go and go soon, was it not the part of wisdom to choose the hour and the issue?

Nine months ago, when Labor took office, I was, as my readers will perhaps remember, in London, and at that hour it was plain that the Labor Government was much stronger than mere numbers indicated and that the whole mass of the British public, disgusted with the failure of Tory, Liberal and of Tory and Liberal in Coalition, were resolved that Labor should have its "sporting chance." It has survived this long, largely because the politician perceived this state of the public mind and feared to flout it.

The hope of Tory and Liberal was, quite obviously, that Labor would make a mess of

things, that after a few weeks or months it would display its incompetence and there would be a profound revulsion of feeling. Now so far as one may judge from the outside Labor has neither made a ghastly failure nor done anything which might shock the mass of the British electorate. From this side of the Atlantic it might appear Labor had done rather better than anyone might expect, any friend hope, any foe fear.

One prophecy at least has gone into the discard and that is the familiar forecast that Labor itself would split up, that MacDonald would be unable to control his "wild men" from the Clyde and elsewhere. But not only has MacDonald displayed superb leadership, but he has elected to fall upon an issue which will insure the support of all the extreme faction, of the Left wing. He has, in political parlance, after governing toward the Right, fallen to the Left, confuting his enemies who forecast wild radicalism while in office and rallying the extremists themselves at the moment of his departure.

In handling imperial business he has been conspicuously successful as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Not only has he restored British prestige on the Continent and British credit in France, but he has said "no" with all the emphasis of a Tory both to Indian aspirations and to Egyptian ambitions, while, Pacifist as he is, he took over *en bloc* his Tory predecessor's program for the expansion of the navy through the adoption of a program of cruiser building.

And one must remember the state of Europe ten months ago, when the Tories were turned out of power, or two years ago, when Lloyd George's reckless Near Eastern policy brought his country to the verge of a war with Turkey without allies and in the face of the indignant protest of all of Britain's millions of Moslem subjects. Certainly MacDonald is not responsible for all or most of the change, but no one in the world deserves greater share of the actual credit, and I believe he will be remembered as a great foreign minister just as he must be regarded hereafter as a great political leader.

The simple truth, it would appear, is that those who let MacDonald in, in the hope of prospering by his failure, became alarmed at the extent of his success. This applies simply to the Liberals, who gave Labor the votes to expel Stanley Baldwin and the Tories. But one may imagine the sensations of Lloyd George, as he saw Mac-

Donald playing on the world stage the rôle he had himself played for so long, and playing it on the whole more acceptably. One may also fancy the feelings of the Liberals, the rank and file, as they saw their party condemned to support a ministry of an enemy party and losing strength precisely as the ministry succeeded. It was beyond human nature to endure the thing much longer and the press dispatches indicate that in the end Lloyd George's insistence overbore the caution of the less ambitious Mr. Asquith.

This article will hardly be in the reader's hands before the election will have taken place, and I shall not venture any foolish forecast here. But it is worth while to recall a few figures. Before the preceding General Election the Tories held 344 seats in the House of Commons, Labor 138, and the Liberals of the two factions, Asquithian and Georgian, 117. There were in addition 16 members belonging to minor groupings. After the Tariff Election, the Tory membership had fallen to 257, Labor had risen to 192, and the Liberals to 158, while the scattering numbered 8.

Although the Tories lost nearly 90 seats, they actually polled almost as many votes as before and neither the Liberals nor Labor gained in votes anything commensurate with their gain in seats. This was due to the fact that whereas in the preceding election Labor and the Liberals had divided the vote in many a constituency with the result that the Tory was elected, on this occasion they more or less divided the field. It follows, then, that given the present bitterness between Labor and the Liberals, the earlier precedent may be followed and the result inure to the advantage of the Tories.

It is worth mentioning, however, that the present representation of the parties in the House of Commons is a pretty fair index of the voting strength of the three organizations and that in advance of election the British expert opinion inclined to believe that no party could hope for a clear majority. Similarly all agreed in forecasting losses by the Liberals both to the Tories and to Labor.

The desertion of Winston Churchill to the Tories just before the fall of MacDonald was an interesting circumstance, but it is highly debatable how warm a welcome he will have. Not impossibly following election the Liberal Party, if it meets with disaster, will break up, one faction fol-



lowing Lloyd George to the Tories and the other going with Sir John Simon to Labor. What Lloyd George hopes is that the result of the election will be such that it will be impossible for the Tories to form a government without Liberal votes and that he can deliver these for a price, which of course would be another Coalition Government.

Finally one must recall that Labor is on the whole the best united party at the moment. The Tories have never recovered from the great Carlton Club battle which resulted in the overthrow of Coalition and the Lloyd George Ministry. Baldwin's leadership was very disastrous and he has done little in the past year to retrieve his situation. Sir Robert Horne, Austen Chamberlain and various other men are being groomed to replace him, while his hold remains based upon the support of the "die-hard" faction in his party, the faction which is opposed to Lloyd George, to Coalition, and regards the Irish settlement as a betrayal of national interest.

Quite obviously, too, a return of the Tories might have a very serious consequence in Ireland, where the Boundary Question is acute. While both Labor and the Liberals sympathize measurably at least with the South Irish, the Tories would be bound to support Ulster. As a consequence, there might be a recrudescence of Irish demand for the Republic, for complete freedom from Britain, instead of the Dominion status.

## II. FOREIGN REPERCUSSIONS

But it is in the foreign field that one must look for the most interesting consequences of MacDonald's fall, always provided that the election confirms the vote of the House of Commons and another government comes into power. Paris commentators were very quick to point out that Herriot was at once concerned, if not compromised. His ability to deal with MacDonald, the very obvious friendship between the two men, made Herriot a useful man for France, particularly in view of debt conversations which were scheduled for November and in which France hoped for considerable concessions.

But if MacDonald is to go out of power, then much of Herriot's usefulness vanishes automatically and his domestic situation is far from attractive. Beyond much doubt if a Tory Premier came—Baldwin, for example—the French Chamber would decide

that another, probably Briand, would be a better spokesman for France, and the understanding all along has been that after a decent interval Briand would succeed Herriot. If Briand came, his recent declarations at Geneva would commit him to the support of the recent Geneva decisions.

But where would a Tory Cabinet stand with respect of the Protocol of the League and in the matter of the Dawes Report, both of which have called forth very widespread criticism in the Tory press? At the very least, a new period of uncertainty would ensue and an Irish crisis might postpone action indefinitely. This would be true also of the matter of the French debt, although the French will probably argue that any Tory Government would find itself bound to repeat the offer made by the late Bonar Law in Paris nearly two years ago, on the eve of the Ruhr occupation—an offer which envisaged sweeping scaling down of the French debt to Britain.

The German reaction to the fall of MacDonald might conceivably be quite as important as the French, for the presence of a Labor Government was an unmistakable encouragement to the more moderate elements in Germany and the attitude of MacDonald and Herriot working together not alone achieved the acceptance of the Dawes Report in the German Reichstag, but gave a text to moderate Germans while giving the lie to the Nationalists who continued to agitate against Allied statesmen seeking German ruin.

In sum, without trying to foreshadow events, it is manifest that the fall of MacDonald, assuming that he does not return to power, must have a profoundly disturbing effect all over Europe. And this is the more true because there is not discoverable in British politics any man who can replace MacDonald as foreign minister and enjoy the same credit abroad. In a very real sense the new deal in Europe has centered about him, Herriot's victory in France would not have been possible otherwise and his tenure of office with MacDonald out will hardly be long. Not since Briand was brusquely replaced by Poincaré during the Cannes Conference three years ago, has any domestic political crisis had the same disturbing influence abroad—which is pretty good testimony to the success of MacDonald on his job.

After all, one may pretty justly say that MacDonald is the first Prime Minister of a

great country to leave office with a greater reputation than he brought to it, since the war. Compare his departure with that of Clemenceau, Lloyd George or Stanley Baldwin, indeed with that of the late President Wilson—and the contrast is instantly apparent. MacDonald is indubitably stronger now than nine months ago when he took office and as a result of his conduct in office, his party's right and fitness to hold office will hardly be challenged again in the terms it was last winter.

Still a young man, as public men go, MacDonald's future would seem reasonably assured. Moreover, there can be little real appeal for any man who takes his place in the present posture of British affairs, which certainly have not worsened since he took charge, but remain appallingly difficult. That he would have been condemned in the end to fail because the difficulties are some of them insoluble save with time at best, seems assured, but since his foes could not wait, he may yet realize upon their impatience. Moreover, since he never had a free hand, he has always an answer for his critics, whose difficulties will increase with any clear mandate.

Labor in office was after all an experiment and the world in the first days looked for almost any kind of a spectacle. Yet in the end it was forced to recognize that "business was as usual," that the world and the affairs of Empire went on much as before, that Labor could find material for a cabinet and that if some violence was done to the King's English by certain Labor men both in and out of the Government, Labor on the whole honored more traditions than it flouted. After all this was clear the public began to take Labor as a matter of course—it became no more than a political party instead of a nine days' wonder. The red flag did not approach Buckingham Palace—only a Labor Minister in a "pot hat."

Actually a revolution had taken place when Labor came to power. For the first time England was ruled not by members of a governing class, which had dominated both the old parties, but by a cabinet in the main composed of a class which had rarely held office before and then only in individual instances. But when the new class took office it proceeded, on the whole, to conduct things in about the same way as all of its predecessors. The difference was hardly to be detected and when discoverable by no means always lacking in merit.

The first Labor Government in Britain was and must remain a landmark and, having had an exceedingly able leader, it will certainly prove a respectable landmark. The next time Labor comes to power, whether this year or ten years hence, it will hardly be accused of representing Moscow or carrying the red flag. And on the political side, this is an enormous gain for a party relatively newly come into existence and needing to establish itself in public confidence. Under MacDonald Labor has demonstrated that it is a constitutional party, accepting the established rules of political and national life, that it is fundamentally British. To do this was necessary.

### III. AT GENEVA

When I closed my article last month the League of Nations, still in session, had already heard the brilliant speeches of the British and French Premiers and had taken its first step toward definite decisions, the step which pledged all the nations represented at Geneva, subject of course to the later ratification of their Parliaments, to compulsory arbitration as the method of settling international disputes.

This agreement was recently supplemented by the equally significant and important principle, the contribution of Americans acting unofficially, of the so-called Bliss-Shotwell Committee, that any nation which refused to submit to arbitration and had recourse to force, should by virtue of this act become the aggressor in law and in morals, subject alike to the penalties and punishments—which the League might inflict and be adjudged guilty before the public opinion of the world as the nation responsible for the conflict.

So far what the League had proposed was, if I may say it, purely negative—negative in the sense that there was involved no invasion of the sovereignty of any nation and no radical departure from the historical precedent. Nations could agree either as between themselves or as a matter of general policy to accept arbitration. While the League was in session Switzerland and Italy did in fact sign a treaty which pledged both nations to arbitrate all differences whatsoever. Countries could agree to refrain from attack upon any neighbor or the use of arms, save as they were attacked, and the control of their own policies would still remain within their own hands.

But from this point onward, what was done at Geneva takes a new and striking form. The Protocol which emerged from the committee presided over by Benes, Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia and the outstanding figure of European statesmanship at the moment, while embodying the principles I have cited, proceeded thereafter to propose ways and means of preserving peace which make it, perhaps, the most momentous and extensive experiment in internationalism as contrasted with the traditional nationalism in all history.

Moreover, this departure has immediate American significance because it quite transforms the relation of the League to ourselves. Not only does the League emerge from this last Conference a very definite entity, a going concern of unmistakable vitality, but there have been indications also of the direction which it is undertaking to travel. There has been disclosed the pathway of internationalism, which must affect every nation in the world, whether a member of the League or not. Assuming—and, to be sure, it is a large assumption—that the Protocol of the League as adopted at Geneva will be ratified by the member nations, it will hardly be possible in the future for the United States to ignore the League, as it has in the past, for the League has adopted rules and principles which may lead it to force itself upon American attention formally and emphatically.

This new orientation of the League is all discoverable in the various provisions of the new Protocol which undertake to impose upon the member nations obligations in the face of acts which are not their own and decisions which they do not make. Thus, the sum and substance of all the vital paragraphs which are designed to fortify while clarifying the old Covenant is found in the duty imposed upon all member nations to become parties to any controversy between a member nation and any country, member or otherwise, to become parties to the extent of using their resources, military, monetary and moral, to punish that country which declines to accept arbitration and resorts to hostilities.

Aiming to prevent war in the world, pledging the member nations not to employ force against each other, the new Protocol now establishes the moral obligation of all member nations to go to war in fact if not in form with any nation which, being a member, violates its pledge, or, not being a

member, commits an aggression upon an associated state.

This obligation, moreover, while superficially softened by pleasant sounding phrases, which leave the member nations free to decide what they shall do, but morally bound to do the utmost possible in the way of coercing the aggressor nation, does in its very essence take away from the respective parliaments the real right to declare war, to take independent action, for the decision of the League that a nation has become an aggressor automatically enlists the support of all member nations for the victim, and a Parliament or a Congress becomes thus merely a ratifying body.

When one nation commits an aggression upon another, the latter a member of the League, it is the duty of all other members to come to the assistance of the nation attacked. The duty is incumbent not only if the nation thus committed to render aid has no concern with the immediate controversy, but also even if its own material interests are compromised and positively injured by such action. It may conceivably refrain from sending men and ships to fight, but it must at least send supplies and render a variety of service which under the old interpretation of international law would violate neutrality. It becomes by virtue of the act of an aggressor and the decision of the League a co-belligerent, in so far as contributions are concerned it is a limited belligerent. It may contribute only loans and employ only embargoes, but obviously these would be for the aggressor nation hostile acts which would invite reprisal.

Actually, then, the League takes on the form of a definite defensive alliance among all member nations for mutual protection. An attack upon any one nation automatically becomes an attack upon all. The principle is the principle which underlay the two great alliances of the ante-bellum period in Europe, the Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance. The purpose is, of course, materially different. It is to prevent war, not to insure victory in war, but the much deeper distinction is the effort to replace limited by universal association. The design is not to unite a few countries with common enemies and similar interests against prospective attack, but to associate all nations against war.

The old Triple Alliance bound Austria, Italy and Germany to common military action if any one of the three were wantonly

attacked. The new Protocol of the League binds all the member nations, fifty-odd, to action military, economic or otherwise as the situation may determine, against any nation whatsoever which attacks a member, while it binds all member nations to refrain from attacking one another and commits them to resort to diplomatic and arbitral solutions. A nation, says the pleasant euphemism, shall be the judge of what it shall contribute but not of what it ought to give.

The League, then, accepts the principle that it is necessary to meet force with force, to conquer aggression by arms. It becomes an alliance not merely against war, but to make war upon a nation which itself makes war. What is also significant is that in the Protocol there is recognized the right of individual nations to concert for common action in the face of an aggression. And this is the tacit recognition of the compacts already spread over Europe—Franco-Belgian, Franco-Polish, Franco-Czech, Little Entente, Polo-Rumanian—to insure community of action between powers concerned with a new German aggression, a Russian attack, or any disturbance growing out of Central European conditions and jealousies.

The nations of Europe and of the world, whether member nations of the League or not, in the face of the Protocol, confront the alternative of taking their international grievances to the League, the Court or the Council or calling down upon their heads the wrath of the League expressed in terms of physical force. Through the Protocol the League at last asserts its moral authority in the world and undertakes to insure possession of that physical force which will give real vitality to its decisions.

Finally, and this fact is of supreme importance, the League becomes not alone the guarantor of world peace, by force if necessary, but also the guarantor of the *status quo* of the existing frontiers.

#### IV. AMERICAN TRADITION

Now it seems to me unmistakable that American tradition and American conception go along with the provisions of the new Protocol which impose compulsory arbitration upon all nations. We have no older instinct internationally than that which favors arbitration. Moreover, the establishing of the principle that the nation which will not arbitrate but rushes to

hostility is thereby convicted as the aggressor must find American acceptance and is, in reality, the contribution of Americans, speaking of course for a section of American opinion, not for the Government.

But, by contrast, the long debates over the League in and out of the United States Senate quite as clearly indicated that the American people were opposed to the acceptance of obligations which compelled them to make war upon an aggressor, to make war however limited, war by arms or war by trade embargoes. Americans were ready to bind themselves not to commit aggression, to accept arbitration—to keep the peace, in other words, by their own observance of all international obligations—but they were not prepared to undertake the duty of preserving peace in Europe by force, by their own force, military, monetary or otherwise.

It was in this direction that all the significant reservations of the Senate led and it was to the modification of those provisions of the original covenant of the League that all American friends of the League and champions of American membership looked as a condition antecedent to membership. But the net and unmistakable consequence of the recent session at Geneva has been not the elimination but the fortification of precisely these circumstances of the League. In the event of an aggression nations are, to employ the Geneva formula, judges of what they shall contribute but not of what they ought to contribute, that is, to contribute to the defense of the victim and the defeat of the aggressor.

This new orientation of the League, or more exactly this restatement with new emphasis of an earlier conception of the League, as set forth in the new Protocol, represents the result of the clash between two conceptions, that of the Continent, voiced by France, and that of the Anglo-Saxons spoken by Great Britain, for, despite obvious difference, the American and the British notions are the same and are founded upon similar geographical facts.

The Continental nations whose voices are most important in the League—France, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania—find themselves in a situation where they are prepared to pledge themselves to submit all international disputes to arbitration, to agree alike to compulsory arbitration and to refrain from all



aggression. But they have neighbors whose hostile designs are unmistakable—or, to avoid all debate, whose designs they believe to be hostile, which for them is the same.

Therefore these nations insist that having loyally accepted the League Protocol themselves, they shall be insured against evil consequences of such good faith, particularly if it is later expressed in terms of a reduction of their own means of defense and an abandonment of the separate treaties they have made for mutual military defense. They want peace, all of them, passionately. They have no territorial designs upon any neighbor, but they are convinced that to get peace through the League there must be machinery to protect as well as to provide methods by which all nations by practicing good faith may avoid hostilities. They want, in a word, not merely peace, but security in peace, which alone might permit disarmament.

Now the British possess security. They are concerned only with peace. They are resolutely opposed to pledging their own resources to defend any state against any other as a mere alliance. They are opposed to giving any pledge under any circumstance but in the face of a situation in which it is clear that no step can be taken toward the reduction of armaments or the elimination of special alliances, both of which they regard as causes of war, save as something is done in the matter of security, they have elected to vest the League with the decision and the authority.

In a word, the British are not ready to pledge themselves to support France against Germany, for example, but they are, reluctantly, to be sure, willing to pledge support of a sort to France, provided Germany refuses to submit a dispute to the League, and wantonly attacks France, thus becoming the aggressor and being so adjudged by the League. They have no interest in France, Germany or Belgium, now. They are concerned solely but vitally with peace. They are ready to act against France or against Belgium, just as they are ready to act against Germany, if any one of the three nations becomes an aggressor.

This was the significance of the rather spectacular appearance of an offer by Lord Parmoor that the British fleet would serve as the maritime police force of the League to be employed against any aggressor. Now the French would prefer a direct British guarantee against Germany, but

they have perceived that this cannot be had, therefore they came to Geneva with the idea of taking what they could get but making it as much as possible. Their idea, therefore, was to put as much weight as possible upon the new covenant provisions, to increase the obligations and commitments as much as possible. Therefore they instantly hailed the Parmoor proposal.

But the British, once the proposal had been made, perceived that the obligation might be intolerable, particularly if the League got involved in some dispute with the United States, or if the use of the British fleet as a police force led to American complications such as arose in the early phases of the World War and as a result of the British blockade. Therefore MacDonald in London repudiated the Parmoor proposal at Geneva while the British delegation at Geneva began to hedge about any use of the British fleet with conditions.

But the fact which I am very anxious to have my American readers perceive, for I think it is the outstanding circumstance of the recent session of the League, is that the Continental nations, under French leadership, perceiving that they could get no promise of British aid save through the League, no pledge of the use of British force to maintain peace, undertook to use the League Protocol to obtain the most sweeping assurances from Britain—that is, they strove to make the Protocol obligations as stiff as possible. And the British were handicapped alike because, when MacDonald had departed, their interests were not in first rate hands and because they could hardly refuse to join in the League program, now that they had persuaded the Continentals to make the League, and not separate alliances, the basis of peace.

The result, however, is manifest. The Protocol tremendously reinforces the original Covenant in so far as that document provided for the use of force by the members of the League to defend any fellow member against aggression. It is no longer a combination against Germany, for there is common agreement that Germany shall enter the League, but it is an alliance of the strongest sort, so far as language can make it, against any nation which shall resort to war against a member, whether that aggressor nation be a member of the League itself or not.

Under the Protocol it would still be possible for a member nation to proclaim and

pursue neutrality, if any nation committed an aggression against a member, but such a course would beyond all doubt be an evasion of moral obligations publicly undertaken. Thus in form, at least, the League has become not merely an agency for peace, but the most powerful machinery for punitive war, in case of aggression, which has ever been devised. So far from outlawing war, it has accepted war as the single method of preventing war, by threatening the aggressor with the combined resources, military and other, of the most considerable body of nations ever united on a common program.

### V. JAPAN AND ITALY

The issue of security was peculiarly Continental and in reality the basis of the break between British and French policy. The wholly provisional solution—provisional, for the Protocol awaits the adoption by the nations—represents the compromise between the two views—and in reality it represents a measurable triumph on the part of the Continental nations, of France and her associates, committing the member nations to a degree of responsibility in the face of later aggression which may be exaggerated but cannot be denied. By virtue of it the League becomes not merely the passive machinery available to nations, but it also becomes the police power for enforcing peace.

Quite as significant in its way was the amendment to the Protocol offered by the Japanese. Japan is not interested in the question of security. For her the discussion of sanctions and guarantees is quite academic, since she has no neighbor able or ambitious enough to invade her shores. But for her there is one question which ranks all other—the question raised by various immigration laws—American, Australian, South African—which not merely exclude all but a limited number of aliens—so far our law interests many nations, European as well as Asiatic—but also exclude certain races as such.

Here, from the Japanese point of view, is a cause for war. But under the existing conditions of the League our action left Japan without a remedy within the League. She might raise the question and carry it to the Court of Justice, but when that court held, as it must, that the matter was domestic and thus outside its field of opera-

tions, Japan would have to choose between submitting to what she regarded as an intolerable injustice or becoming, in the face of the League, an aggressor nation, with all that this might imply.

She asked, then, raising again the issue which she had already raised dramatically in the Paris Conference, that domestic matters which might become the causes of war should be made proper fields for League activities. The effect of her proposal and the intent, despite the usual diplomatic explanations, was to create a condition of law, so far as the League was concerned, by which she should be able to bring before the League the question of our discriminatory immigration legislation—although of course the proposal dealt simply with generalities—get a decision from it, and be freed from the burden of responsibility as the aggressor, if we refused to accept the decision of the League and she took warlike steps.

The attempt naturally precipitated a sensational debate and a continuing crisis, for the Japanese declined to accept the Protocol as it stood. In the end the solution was a compromise. The right was lodged in a nation faced with a court decision that an issue was purely domestic, to carry the issue to the Council of the League, which would then consider it. Thus, in effect, if our Immigration Laws were challenged and the issue taken to the International Court of Justice and that Court declined to act, pronouncing the matter domestic, Japan could appeal to the League, citing the matter as a cause for war and the Council of the League would have to act.

Its action could not go beyond representations to the United States and Japan would not be warranted in undertaking hostilities, but thus, without any consent or submission on our part, our domestic law, the immigration act, might be submitted to an international body and it might undertake to make representations to us, representations urging modification. Thus, while we are not in the League, the League acting for Japan—or, more exactly, upon Japanese urgings—might undertake, not by force but by diplomatic procedure, to obtain changes in our own domestic laws.

Here, after all, is a very far-reaching departure and this departure was emphasized by the Italian course at Geneva. The Italians are not concerned with the question of

security, as are the French, nor with that of race equality, as are the Japanese, since we excluded their immigrants not on the basis of race but on a common basis with those of all nations. They are, however, concerned with the fact of practical exclusion, under our recent law, but more particularly with the fact that while Great Britain and the United States have a practical monopoly of many of the essential raw materials of the world, Italy is singularly destitute of all—coal, iron, copper, cotton, petroleum, and so forth—and must obtain them in the world markets.

At Paris in 1918, and since, Italy has, therefore, advocated what amounts to a pooling of raw materials. The Japanese argued that domestic law which inhibited immigration in a discriminatory fashion might be a cause for war and was thus proper League concern. The Italians argued that one nation by withholding raw materials from another might do it incalculable injury, and that therefore this would become a proper concern for the League. Indeed, the Italians argued that the only escape from the danger was some community of control exercised not by the nation which possessed the monopoly of the given commodity but by the League.

The Italian proposal had no important consequence, but it deserves American consideration because it is a logical extension of the Japanese proposal and is in addition highly characteristic of the new tendencies within the League. If the Council of the League is to be empowered to act with nations not members of the League and in matters which are purely domestic in character, if there is already the demand of at least one great power that this invasion shall be extended to the matter of economic affairs and the control and disposition by any nation of its own products, it is plain that the evolution of the League in the direction of the superstate is foreshadowed.

Add to these proposed functions that already established, namely, the decision for or against the employment of all the resources of the members of the League against any nation attacking a member of the League, the right to assert the moral duty of every member state to use its resources against an aggressor, and the enormous expansion of internationalism through the League is patent.

Reduced to practical terms, which might also seem to Americans reduced to absurd-

ity, the League might undertake to regulate in advance the distribution of the American cotton crop or the British Empire's rubber output. It might undertake to fix the price of either product in the world market, thus protecting the nations which do not produce from the consequences of the monopoly of those which do produce rubber, cotton, oil or any other similar commodity.

From these three proposals, which I may describe as Continental, Japanese and Italian, that is, of security, equality and economic control, the League a little held back. It dealt with security by imposing a moral, not a contractual military obligation upon member states. It dealt with that of equality by empowering the Council to act, but still restraining the offended nation from aggression. In the matter of economic equality it did nothing but debate the matter. Yet it seems to me the very fact that all these questions were raised, discussed, recognized as requiring action, present or eventual, must have a far-reaching American significance and must be appraised as disclosing a profound modification of the orientation of the League.

Hitherto, at least in the American conception, the League has been a piece of machinery designed to prevent actual hostilities and to offer an alternative method of solution for international disputes. But now it has definitely undertaken the task of employing force to protect the victim of an aggression, thus imposing the duty of participation in such operations upon member nations, and it has considered what steps it may take to prevent war even by the interference in the domestic affairs of nations to the extent of dealing with its immigration laws and its disposition of its own products.

Yet when all is said and done that sort of intervention would carry the League very far in the direction of becoming a superstate, controlling the foreign and the domestic policies of member nations and even exercising a markedly coercive power in the direction of non-member nations. And this tendency of the League, to call it no more than tendency, has a profound significance for Americans. It puts our position with respect of the League on a very different footing.

We may, plainly enough, continue to decline membership in the League and adhere to the policy of the present Administration, which amounts to polite ignoring of the League. But it is no longer certain that the

League will ignore us, or that we may not presently be confronted, as quite obviously the Japanese intended, with some form of intervention by the League addressed to us, having the avowed and, for that matter, the real purpose to obtain the modification of some domestic law or policy of our own because in its judgment that law or policy makes for war on the testimony of a member of the League.

## VI. A GOING CONCERN

The fact which stands out about the last session of the League is that it revealed the decision of Europe to make use of the League. Hitherto the Geneva experiment has been pretty definitely a sideshow. It has been largely ignored by the masters of the policies and leaders of the affairs of the great powers. On its side it has concentrated its attention upon the organization of its machinery, the efficient disposition of the relatively minor issues submitted to it. For the rest it has awaited the hour which it believed would come.

Now the hour of the League struck precisely when Herriot arrived in France. His predecessor, M. Poincaré, had cared little for the League. On the contrary, the Poincaré conception was the traditional policy of alliance, an alliance on equal terms with Britain, continental combinations with the various states which had common dangers with France and imperious need of French aid. And always there was for Poincaré the assumption of a hostile Germany against whose later aggressions these alliances should be erected.

In the matter of Continental alliances the Poincaré policy was a shining success. France speedily recovered leadership in Europe. The effort of Lloyd George to frame counterbalancing combinations came to nothing and while Britain steadily moved further away from a French alliance, she at the same time lost prestige and influence on the Continent to an almost unparalleled degree. The occupation of the Ruhr was the apotheosis of the Poincaré policy and established French supremacy in Europe at a Napoleonic pinnacle.

But successful in itself this Poincaré policy not only got nowhere practically, but it raised enemies and even more promoted suspicion. Even the nations closely associated with France began to become restive while the vast problem of reparations re-

mained unsettled and French finances grew more and more insecure.

Something of this Poincaré perceived when he agreed to the Dawes Commission and prepared to accept its report. This stroke gave international endorsement to the largest amount of German contribution France could now hope to obtain. It secured for France American support and backing and it left the British with no immediate remedy save to follow suit, although the Dawes Report turned out to be something far different from what Britain had desired or expected and left France with a measurably free hand still against Germany.

The fall of Poincaré, however, opened the way for the second and even more adroit stroke of French policy. Ramsay MacDonald and Labor were committed to the League and it was out of the question to hope for a separate British guarantee. So for that matter were many of France's friends on the Continent. Notably Belgium and the Little Entente led by M. Benes, the most astute diplomatist in the new Europe, favored the League. What could be better than to throw all French influence behind the League, make the League a real factor, and with the support of Continental friends shape the League in the direction France desired?

That is what Herriot did and that is precisely what the last Geneva session achieved. It established the League as the guarantor of the existing situation in Europe. It pledged the members of the League, Britain included, to support any nation against aggression and, in effect, it committed all European nations to peace under penalty. And at the same time it did not in the least impair the special contracts France had made for mutual defense with various nations. On the contrary, it gave them League sanction and indeed bestowed upon them something of the character of extra guarantees of the execution of the decisions of the League itself. And to cap the climax Herriot and Briand proclaimed French willingness to see Germany enter the League on the basis on which all other nations had entered.

The Geneva session was, then, first of all a success for the League, since for the first time the League became the center of European politics. It was in the second place an unmistakable success for France because the French delegation, after the Prime Ministers had retired, under the brilliant leadership of Briand, Bourgeois



and Boncour, established a leadership which was unmistakable. Moreover, the rôles of both Benes and Theunis, representing nations allied to France, emphasized the French influence.

The Protocol which emerged from the committee over which Benes presided was itself a triumph not for the views held exclusively by France but for those conceptions of the character which the League should have which are held in common by France and a number of Continental states more or less closely associated with France.

From the recent meeting, then, the League at last emerges as a going concern. It has become a real League of Nations. If the Protocol shall be ratified by the member nations without significant exception or crippling reservations, it will become the most powerful association of nations in European history to preserve European peace by force of arms, if necessary. And assuming German entrance, which is almost assured, it is hard to see how it can miss being the stage for European diplomatic and political operations for a very considerable period of time.

Unmistakably, too, moral if not physical coercion will now be exercised from Geneva upon Washington to join the League. Any effort such as that sketched by President Coolidge for an arms conference under American auspices will be politely blocked and America will be invited to share as a member or otherwise in League undertakings or subscribe to League results. The rather tacit assumption that the League could not function without American adhesion has manifestly given place to the conviction that the United States cannot permanently stay out of a functioning League.

There remains the question of disarmament, which cannot be considered until the requisite number of nations have ratified the Protocol and only if the ratification leaves the spirit of that document unimpaired. This is true because the degree of disarmament possible depends directly upon the extent of mutual assistance pledged by the members. Nations feeling themselves menaced by their neighbors will only consent to reduce their armaments as they find in the promises of their associates within the League guarantee of aid in case of aggression. But conversely, no nation which is not prepared to give those promises can urge disarmament. If the British

reject the Protocol, for example, or modify it materially, they will find little support on the Continent for their effort to bring about the reduction of the military establishments of any nation. Indeed, the holding of an arms conference in June or in November of next year will not be decided until the character of the ratifications as well as the number is known.

The consent of the League to take over the supervision of German armament, as regulated by the Treaty of Versailles, another exceedingly important decision, opens the way quite naturally to the exercise by the League of some form of supervision of all armaments of member nations. The League will prepare a program of disarmament. It is only natural that it should in some degree witness the adoption of the plan, the application of it, if that or any plan be adopted. It would thus report to the League any failure or violation. And this, again, is a step in the direction of internationalism, long or short as the case may prove to be.

But so far as the United States is concerned, while we shall undoubtedly be invited to attend the conference, or in any event to subscribe to its decisions, our position will be embarrassing, because we shall seek to profit by the advantages without sharing in the responsibilities, unless we join the League before the conference meets, which is wholly unlikely. In addition little or no progress could be made in the way of the limitation of naval armament without our presence, since we are with the British the dominant naval power and all armament ratios and adjustments must be based upon British and American strength and all regulation of the use of weapons, such as submarines, depend upon our policy.

Inevitably, too, the League will not be concerned with any embarrassment our government may suffer at home or abroad, because of its non-membership in the League. On the contrary this measure of coercion upon us will undoubtedly please League members for whom our attitude has seemed at once arrogant and disagreeably self-sufficient. Having, as I have said, sought for five years to make American entrance into the League easy, the member nations are now committed to a course which will tend to make American abstention difficult, and the nations are bound to enjoy our difficulties—which is, after all, a very human proceeding.

# THE VAN SWERINGENS

BY JOHN W. LOVE

WRITERS have called them the "mysterious" Van Sweringens, these twin-minded brothers who buy a piece of single track largely on credit and make it a system 9,000 miles long. They give no interviews, they make no speeches, their public statements are about as florid as military orders; and as for their history—it is written in the county recorder's office and in deposit agreements.

America's only new railroad system in a generation comes into being at the command of a couple of real-estate gentlemen hardly known to the public beyond their names, except for the recollection that they have been putting railroads together for two years now.

Oris Paxton Van Sweringen and Mantis James Van Sweringen take their places in the highly exclusive set of men whose names are worth four points on any stock. They have even attained to the superlative distinction of initials; to those who talk in shorthand, they are respectively, "O. P." and "M. J." In Cleveland they are simply "the Vans."

Theirs was a parochial history until they began to buy railroads. Their Nickel Plate purchase eight years ago took them into the financial glare for a moment, and their Union Station project, important enough in Cleveland, got casual mention elsewhere. It was not until 1923 that they really aroused the business world to question

what they were trying to do. Then it was that they took on four more roads or pieces of roads—the Clover Leaf, Lake Erie & Western, and some connections—welded them into one, yet left such promising gaps that from that time the world of finance was on its toes when the Van Sweringen brothers were mentioned.

Sweringen brothers were mentioned.

## *From Real Estate to Railroads*

Unlike railway geniuses of the past, they came into transportation neither from the operating end nor the stock market, but from real estate, and suburban real estate at that, via the incredible means of an electric railway. They needed the Nickel Plate to build a terminal for their electric line to take the people to their lots; but once they had the Nickel Plate they tasted stronger meat, and their career was under way.

At a time when the public had come to realize that consolidations were to be welcomed, not feared, and when the Interstate Commerce Commission was actually grouping the systems on paper, came the timely Van Sweringens with a piece of construction that fits in beside the three old eastern roads, Pennsylvania, New York Central, and Baltimore & Ohio, and is accepted by their competitors and the bankers as a logical thing.

Five railroads—the New York, Chicago & St. Louis, known as the "Nickel Plate," the controlled Chesapeake & Ohio, and



MR. ORIS PAXTON VAN SWERINGEN

Hocking Valley, Erie, and Pere Marquette—are to be brought under "unified control and operation" subject to the Commerce Commission's approval, and eventually, it appears, into actual consolidation. Outside roads are to be rounded up and attached to this and three or four other stems, and eastern railway architecture will be complete.

During the last few months the world has been bracketing these vital middle westerners with J. J. Hill and E. H. Harriman, but an aversion to publicity amounting to an abhorrence has enabled them to keep their personalities in the background, almost in anonymity. This predilection for obscurity has been increasing, if anything, and though writers still make the overnight trip to Cleveland to interview them on railway consolidations or advice to struggling young men, Messrs. O. P. and M. J. are very gracious but they decline to expand on any subject.

#### *Rivals of the Sphinx*

Years ago somebody did get Mr. O. P. to suggest a recipe for success, and he is said to have said that "frankness is the secret." If frankness is an attribute of sphinxes, the Van Sweringens are frank. Occasionally they will, among those they know, say much in confidence, but long experience in real-estate buying, coupled with natural shyness, have given them an unusual thriftiness of speech. The same ancient interview advised young men "to put all their cards on the table," but Mr. Van Sweringen must have had in mind the "showdown" in poker.

Their conception of news is something that has taken place, to be told in the same brief sharp way in which they assemble their statistics. A sentence suffices as an announcement, or if it is a major piece of work, the prospectus itself, but without embroidery or background.

Like all retiring men, they are sensitive, and statements or insinuations they believe unjust are pretty likely to bring some kind of reply, not direct, but unmistakable nevertheless, and in a way that makes the offender regret he has been the means of injuring such estimable gentlemen.

#### *Two Senior Partners*

Because Mr. O. P. is the spokesman of the firm when a spokesman is needed, not unnaturally the public gets the idea he is the general manager of the partnership; people who know him well may never have met his brother M. J. But they are together, nearly all the time, working together, traveling together, and living together. They are as inseparable as twins, and occasionally they are taken as such, though they hardly resemble one another physically more than any two sons of the same mother.

Theirs is a sort of bifurcate personality, never to be mentioned save in the plural, a pair of partners so nicely balanced one to the other that employees in years of association never have come to look upon either brother as leader of the other. They are together the senior partners of the firm of O. P. & M. J. Van Sweringen, the unincorporated or-



MR. MANTIS JAMES VAN SWERINGEN

ganization which is the center and sun about which all the satellite corporations revolve. There are other partners, but titles mean nothing to them, either in their work or that of their staff. Their own work, as well as that of their employees, often overlaps to a surprising degree, and one gauge of the ability of a staff member in that organization of 100 or more is to work along in his indefinitely defined field in perfect coördination with the others. All rapidly growing organizations are like that; and in the past, less so to-day, the Van

Sweringens have been hard put to it to keep bookkeeping in step with expansion.

Except for the distinction that the elder is the spokesman for the firm, for all practical purposes there is no defining of duties between the two brothers. Mr. O. P.'s name appears as chairman of the boards of the railways, but Mr. M. J. is just as much chairman as his brother is, except for the legal inhibition of two chairmen. M. J. keeps as completely in touch with what goes on with the railroads as his brother does, and his word is as much the law. Every report goes to him, sometimes second, sometimes first, and they do not utilize their separate entities to pursue specialties nor even to save time in any marked degree. Usually it is possible for one of their men to take any sort of question to either brother, sure of a completely informed answer. All this requires them to be much together, and their daily conferences are frequent. They live together, and evenings are given to reading of reports and discussion.

#### *All Work and Little Play*

They travel together in one of the Nickel Plate's three steel private cars, each equipped with an office, but at their destination their papers are loaded up and carried to a suite at a hotel. They maintain no office in New York, and this is a constant source of irritation to New Yorkers, who cannot believe big business can really function beyond the Hudson River.

At home, their method is to work out every plan with figures as definite as they can be made, and they go farther than that. Figures must be reduced to graphs and charts and pictures, and a considerable staff of men is maintained to do this statistical digesting for them. Indices and ratios are set down in bar charts and line charts and spread before them, so that a glance is as good as an hour of reading.

They do much of their work on their Daisy Hill farm, a big estate near Chagrin Falls, several miles east of the settled portion of their Shaker Heights development, and there on Saturdays they tie up loose ends of the week's activity and lay out that of the next. An automobile goes down to the office and returns with the mail, and for their secretaries a day at the farm is by no means a holiday.

They take no vacations, seldom even a day off; they play no golf, and the only recreation ever attributed to Mr. M. J.

is horseback riding. Neither is married—perhaps they have been too busy. Seldom seen in society, except possibly at a horse show, they belong to half a dozen clubs around Cleveland but do not frequent them. They avoid public gatherings of all kinds.

There is a third brother, H. C. Van Sweringen, who is older than either, and he has his offices in the same suites with his brilliant kin. He lives in a separate home in town with his family, the only one of the Van Sweringen brothers and sisters who has a family. H. C. Van Sweringen is in real estate too—a quiet, conservative business, but he does not go in for railroads.

Both younger brothers have the greatest confidence in their own judgment, and they have been their own bosses since boyhood. They are good looking, of medium height, gifted with strong, compact bodies that will stand eighteen hours of work day after day. Their voices are even and low, they are never excited nor at a loss for a name.

So boyish looking were the Van Sweringens when they were younger that some folks failed to take them seriously. A traffic salesman on the Nickel Plate, twenty years or more ago, was handed a letter from them asking the road to put in a siding to unload paving materials. He had never heard of the partners, but he found them in a one-room office.

"They were sitting behind roll-top desks that looked too big for them," he said, "but they talked of miles of paving and carloads of stone. I listened to what they had to say, but the impression I got was that they were a couple of boys who were playing at business. I did not recommend the siding. Next thing I heard they had gone over my head and had their track."

#### *Quitting School for Business*

The Van Sweringen family was living in Wooster, Ohio, when the two boys were born, Oris in 1879 and Mantis in 1881. They moved shortly afterward to Geneva, Ohio. The father, a Civil War veteran, died when Oris was fourteen, and the Van Sweringens came to Cleveland. Though the family would hardly have been considered poor in that day, schooling ended for them with the eighth grade. Oris got a job as an office boy, then as clerk, and for a while they had a newspaper route. They took the jobs that offered. They each discovered an aptitude for figures, studied at home, and their reading was wide if unsystematic.



At twenty-one Oris quit working on a salary and the two went into real estate. As boys they had tramped over a pasture country on the plateau overlooking Cleveland four miles to the eastward. The land wasn't much good for farming, but there were streams and ravines and the broken dam sites of a Shaker community which had died out there sixty years before.

### *A Vision of Suburban Development*

A Buffalo syndicate held some of the land for development, and the city was growing toward it fast enough for the brothers to believe that it could be sold. Into this region came the youths, with a scheme of sweeping avenues and parkways on a scale never seen before in Cleveland. The Wades had been the first to discard the geometry on which the old town had been laid out, but in four or five square miles on the heights the Van Sweringens could build a residential village on an elaborate scale. They laid down roads 180 feet wide, rebuilt the Shakers' ponds and made new ones, and put thirty acres into a park.

In 1900 the land had been appraised for taxation at \$240,000, and twenty-three years later the lots into which it had been divided were valued at \$29,282,000.

Their method at the start was to interest men of moderate means in lots at \$25 a front foot, throwing in the inducement of carrying them until they could be sold for a guaranteed \$30. They introduced into Cleveland real estate the practice of wholesaling lots, and the profit of their early customers opened all the credit they needed to buy farms farther on.

### *The Real-Estate Partners Become Interested in Street Railways*

From the start the Van Sweringens realized the impossibility of doing anything with the property without street-car service. The street-railway company told them it would build the line if the Van Sweringens and their associates would first get people to live there; but a compromise was worked out whereby the Van Sweringens provided the road with a right of way and five years' interest on the cost of the extension.

A few years later they came back to the railway company with a scheme to build an extension into the southern portion of their land, but his time the company flatly declined to accept and operate a line even if it were completed and donated. Ex-

tensions on the fringes of the city were "bleeders" not "feeders."

Within a few weeks the Van Sweringens were designing a high-speed electric railway from the downtown section through one of Cleveland's many neglected ravines direct to Shaker Heights Village. With few stops and with crossings eliminated, the cars were to do in fifteen minutes what would have taken a city car three-quarters of an hour. In planning a downtown terminal building for the line in 1909, the Van Sweringens struck the path which led them into their union terminal and hotel project and eventually into railroad operation on a national scale.

Bringing the electric line into the proposed site of four acres near the Public Square in the heart of Cleveland required negotiation with both the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad (Nickel Plate) and the New York Central, which controlled the Nickel Plate. Not only was it necessary to buy some of the right of way from the Nickel Plate, but the Van Sweringens brothers found that the road, in conjunction with the New York Central, was buying land on its own account for high-level freight facilities to be used by the Central and reached over Nickel Plate.

### *Buying a Railroad to Acquire a Terminal*

About this time the brothers were thinking of getting the railways to go in with them to build a joint terminal at the Square for railway as well as interurban passengers, but the Nickel Plate and Central's schemes were in the way. The New York Central's controlling stock in the Nickel Plate was generally understood to be on the market, the Commerce Commission having ordered the Central to part with the parallel line; and if the Van Sweringens could get this stock they could not only build their rapid transit the way they planned, but could provide a terminal warehousing development which had not previously been considered.

Their purchase of Nickel Plate control on the installment plan was announced in July, 1916. Cleveland banks loaned them and a group of other Cleveland men the \$2,000,000 down payment to the Central, and they gave ten notes of \$650,000 each for the remaining \$6,500,000. These notes began to be paid in 1921, and the transactions now represent mere bookkeeping detail.

The Nickel Plate had been built in 1881 to sell to the Lake Shore road, and the Vander-

bilts had promptly bought it. At that time land was already too expensive to permit its promoters to bring the line into Cleveland by the front door, but its access through the Van Sweringens' favorite gulley peculiarly adapted it to use in possible suburban service in connection with the rapid-transit line and the passenger-terminal project.

The road was 523 miles long, single track, reaching from Buffalo to Chicago. For years it had a reputation for remarkable freight performance, this because there were no branches and no yards to lose cars. J. J. Bernet, vice-president of the New York Central in Chicago, came to Cleveland to operate the property, has been with it ever since, and now it is believed that he is to be the president of the new 9,000 mile consolidation.

Nickel Plate purchased, the Van Sweringens were free to go ahead with their passenger terminal. After long negotiations construction started in 1923 on the project now expected to cost \$60,000,000 and to be completed in four or five years. The Nickel Plate, New York Central, and Big Four are the guarantor users of the station; but at the time the project was released upon a gasping public the Nickel Plate was so inconsequential that skeptics declared the station was merely a New York Central depot.

The original group plan of public buildings in Cleveland called for a union terminal on the lake front, near the present dilapidated depot; and plans for a station on the Square, nearly half a mile away, precipitated furious argument that lasted three or four years. But the Van Sweringens went on buying land in the path of the terminal, and the Commerce Commission, after first refusing authorization, conferred the certificate of convenience and necessity; and the razing of buildings commenced. More than 150 structures, most of them old, were pulled down over thirty-one acres, and last fall steam shovels bit into the dirt.

#### *Putting New Life into the Old "Nickel Plate"*

The war and government operation had overtaken the Nickel Plate before the Van Sweringens were able to show what they could do with it, but immediately after its return to the owners the line began to step out from the ranks. The owners elected to take their chances on profit, rather than accept the Government's guaranteed return, and the property paid them 7 per cent. Credit for operating efficiency must be

divided among many men, especially Mr. Bernet's staff, and the new owners obtained an unusual morale all the way down the organization.

The first expansions of the Nickel Plate took place early in 1922, when the Van Sweringens announced acquisition of the Toledo, St. Louis & Western (Clover Leaf) and the Lake Erie & Western roads. The Clover Leaf ran from Toledo down to St. Louis, suggesting possibilities as another western feeder. The Lake Erie & Western, like the Nickel Plate, had been a New York Central possession, and it tapped a good deal of miscellaneous manufacturing and agricultural traffic in Indiana and Illinois, especially that of the Peoria gateway.

The consolidated road became a compact system running through the highly developed middle western manufacturing territory, without grades or curves, and having little branch mileage and low operating cost.

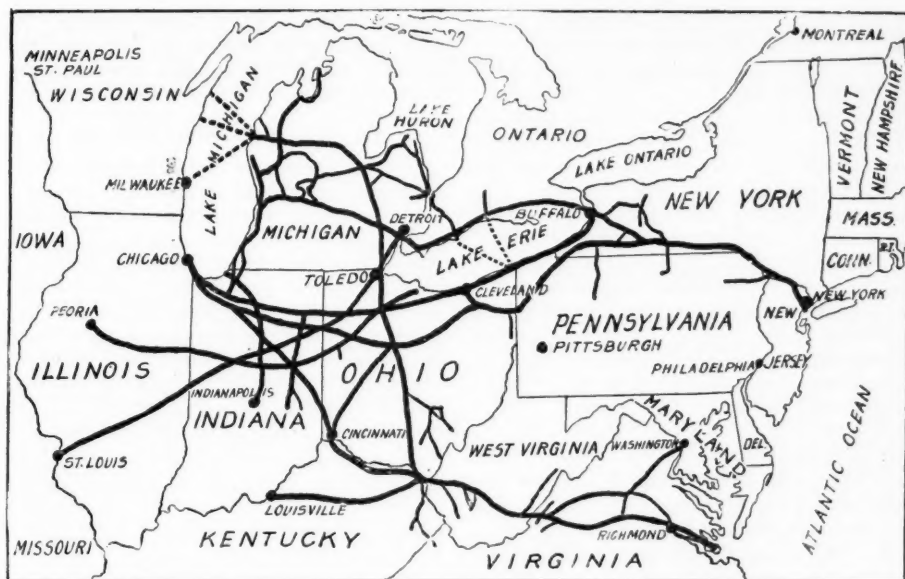
Plans were made for the gradual rejuvenation of the new branches and their development as intensive carriers like the original Nickel Plate. The management devoted energy to working up a better grade of freight traffic, which moves at higher rates. Factories were planted along the lines, and to the old "granger" traffic of the road was added a growing percentage of manufactured articles.

#### *The Chesapeake & Ohio Is Bought*

But the road was short of coal traffic. That could only be supplied by buying another line. It also lacked a connection with the seaboard. What really made the Van Sweringens national figures is the spectacularly simple way in which they solved these problems.

In December, 1922, they bought the Huntington stock in the Chesapeake & Ohio, amounting to control, and allied this road and its subsidiary, the Hocking Valley, with the consolidated Nickel Plate. The value of C. & O. coal to the Nickel Plate was obvious. In the other direction, C. & O. provided the corridor to salt water at Newport News.

The only official statement the Van Sweringens themselves ever made of their reasons for acquiring the C. & O. was made by Mr. O. P. before the Commerce Commission—that besides the benefits of joint use of track and terminals, they and their associates could be of help "in getting for them financial assistance that they need in



THE NEW RAILROAD SYSTEM CREATED BY THE VAN SWERINGEN BROTHERS

(The proposal, now before the Interstate Commerce Commission for approval, involves "unified control and operation" of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railroad, the Chesapeake & Ohio, the Hocking Valley, the Erie, and the Père Marquette)

the expansion of their properties and in co-operating in a great many ways."

Every time a new road was acquired, people were puzzled over just what "the Vans" were going to do with it. Each purchase had its advantages, it was true, but each had its shortcomings. The system never seemed complete. This was only the outworking of one of the Van Sweringens' first principles, to-wit: "You have to take these properties as you find them." Pieces of track are seldom on the market. If you are buying railroads you must buy them whole, like used autos, and rebuild them yourself. They would buy and keep on buying, until their last purchase rounded out the system.

#### *Finally Comes Control of the Erie and Père Marquette*

The outburst of interest in their purchase of Clover Leaf and Lake Erie & Western intensified in 1922, and the public was not unprepared when it learned last summer that control of Erie and Père Marquette had come into Van Sweringen hands, and that they proposed "unified control and operation" of the new properties in conjunction with the consolidated Nickel Plate and the Chesapeake & Ohio, which had been in-

dependently operated more than a year. Financial details were made public in August and September, and a committee, of which O. P. Van Sweringen is chairman, was appointed to carry out the plan. At the moment of writing, the stockholders' proxies are forthcoming in such volume as virtually to assure agreement, even if the promoters had failed to hit upon a plan which apparently cannot be blocked by minorities.

On the map the system resembles a pair of bow-legged pincers, one leg reaching to New York Bay, the other to Hampton Roads, their joint in northern Indiana. One of the handles extends to Chicago, another southwestward to St. Louis.

The lines serve the main sweep of traffic by joining the principal western gateways with tidewater. They link the West Virginia coal fields with the Lakes at Toledo and the automobile industry in Detroit. They pick up pipe and fencing in Youngstown and hand them over to thirty western roads. They grill the manufacturing sections of central Michigan, northern Indiana and Ohio, and western New York. They join the Mississippi with Lake Erie. They give western traffic a convenient by-pass around Chicago. And they provide the system with a New York outlet.

The constituent lines embrace 9,145 miles of steel, including leased and controlled tracks, and represent an investment of \$1,081,000,000. Total assets are nearly \$1,500,000,000 and total income approximates \$30,000,000. They compose one of the first ten systems on the continent, and stand third in the trunk-line territory. The five companies' combined income has recently been at the rate of \$15.47 a share available for common stock.

The old Nickel Plate organization will emerge from the consolidation as a holding company only, with its stock approaching investment rank and capable of paying from 8 to 9 per cent. while holders of the other roads are receiving 6 per cent. These possibilities of the Nickel Plate stock arise from the road's ownership of 155,000 shares of Chesapeake & Ohio stock and 120,000 shares of Père Marquette; on which, like other stockholders, it will receive 6 per cent. Like the Union Pacific under Harriman's domination, the Nickel Plate becomes an investment company.

Six per cent. preferred stock of the new consolidated corporation will have par value of \$155,032,258 and pay 6 per cent. cumulatively. Common stock will be issued to the amount of \$180,773,061, and dividends are expected to be initiated at 6 per cent. Only \$282,468,642 of stock will be issued at the outset. Capital items will have been reduced about \$100,000,000.

#### *Future Possibilities*

Apparently the system is still incomplete. Four tracks—a fifth when Nickel Plate is double tracked—reach from Chicago to Buffalo and western New York State, from which point the double track of Erie alone continues. Obviously another double track into New York is called for, and the understanding is now that the Van Sweringens and the other railway executives who have been quietly talking over railway consolidations for several months are agreed that the Clevelanders shall get the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western.

Another conspicuous gap remains to be filled, at least in public speculation, and that is the Pittsburgh entrance. Various designs to this end have been attributed to the Van Sweringens, such as purchase of the Pittsburgh & West Virginia (controlled in Cleveland) and the Wheeling & Lake Erie, or the construction of a short link between the Erie and the Pittsburgh &

West Virginia. Then there remains the truly stupendous task of fitting the lines into one another, rebuilding terminals, and modernizing many of the lesser branches.

#### *A Great New System Emerges*

Out of seemingly unrelated pieces the Van Sweringens have strung together something the Interstate Commerce Commission is now invited to look at as a substitute for its own and Professor Ripley's consolidation plans; and the Van Sweringens have the advantage of the support of their competitors. If the Van Sweringens are allowed to complete their unification, the railways not taken in must be assigned to existing large systems, if the provisions for consolidation in the Transportation Act of 1920 are carried out. With one or two exceptions the remaining lines cannot be used as nuclei for new large systems. The nine-system plan would have to be discarded in favor of one embodying four or five; and the New York Central, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore & Ohio would be the other beneficiaries.

There are several popular ways of accounting for the spectacular rise of the Van Sweringens. When they were planning their union depot and picking up middle western railroads they were called an extension of the New York Central's sphere of influence. When they were buying into Erie they were described as protégés of George F. Baker, of the First National Bank of New York. When they went to J. P. Morgan & Co. for support in the consolidation they were said to be Morgan men. The truth of all their intimacies is locked up in a couple of poor conversationalists, and, barring unexpectedly revealing circumstances, all these theories may continue current.

Perhaps the most reasonable explanation is that here are a pair of young men whose surpassing grasp of railway finance and ability as coordinators has endeared them to men of large means, and that in the associations of railway finance, as in any other work-day associations, they fit in well. Bankers do not "control" exceedingly prosperous enterprises. Certainly the Van Sweringens, like their prototype, E. H. Harriman, have cultivated banking support where it could be had on the scale of their needs; and certainly there would be no doubt who would control in the event of failure. But so long as their fortunes continue to expand, they are their own masters.



# AN HOUR WITH DR. HENRI BERGSON

BY MARCUS M. MARKS

[Mr. Marks was for many years a merchant in New York City. He retired from business in order to give his time to public and philanthropic interests. He originated the plan for student-travel with exchangeable scholastic credits, which is mentioned in this article, and also organized the Tuberculosis Preventorium for children.—THE EDITOR]

ONE of the most intensely interesting hours of a recent trip abroad was spent at the home of the famous philosopher, Dr. Henri Bergson.

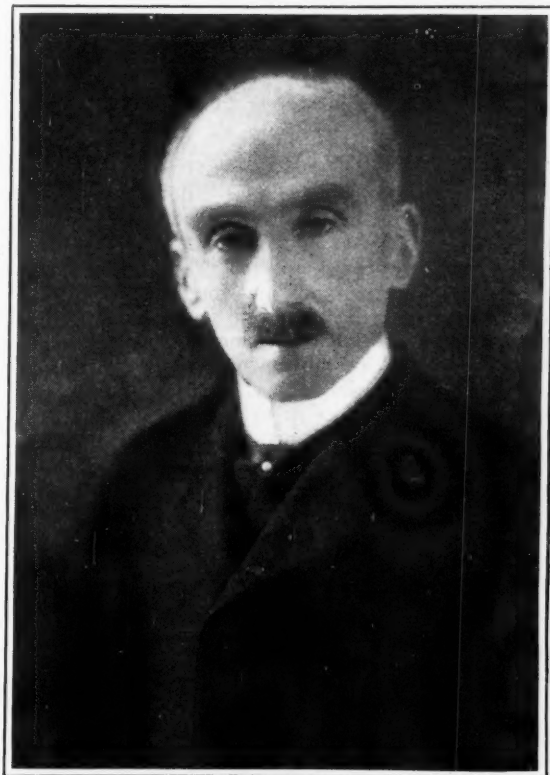
He lives in a modest part of Paris, away from the whirl of the city. A man of rather slight build, evidently in the sixties, benevolent in expression, reserved in manner, statements of his views all reveal firmness, directness, clearness, and breadth.

He is a very busy man. The suggestion that in my mind's eye he could be seen studying the vast and intricate problems of humanity as he reclined in a cosy armchair in his pretty garden, brought forth the response that I had imagination, but that he had no time for such repose.

It had been my privilege, on the previous day, to meet a large group of French Educational authorities at a luncheon at the Club de la Renaissance Française. They were all deeply impressed by the offer of the Associated Colleges of the United States to promote closer international coöperation. While they saw difficulties to be overcome, all agreed to try to surmount them in order to secure the great advantages that would so evidently accrue. Dr. Bergson was unable to attend this luncheon, hence my visit to his home.

The plan then discussed in detail with Dr. Bergson was based on the assumption that the function of our colleges is not only to turn out learned scholars, but broad-minded citi-

zens; world-viewing education would naturally help to produce a true perspective, and active touch with foreigners should remove many prejudices. In brief, international study and travel were proposed to become a formal college extension with scholastic credits arranged for work done abroad. The junior year and summer vacation periods were tentatively suggested for such study.



HENRI LOUIS BERGSON, THE FRENCH PHILOSOPHER

Never have I met such spontaneous response, such instantaneous sparkle of the eyes, such prompt reciprocation as his; all the advantages and latent possibilities of the plan were appreciated. In clear-cut sentences of pure English, the fine mind of the great philosopher and educational authority found expression: "This is one of the most important educational movements of recent years," he exclaimed; "it is full of hope of great developments. By bringing students and professors in large numbers to other countries, good-will through personal acquaintance will result and the basis of a lasting world-peace will be established by face-to-face and heart-to-heart contact. It is a wonderful movement for the American people to father. By the way," he continued, "after my last visit to the United States, I made a statement that caused considerable comment—namely, that the people of the United States are idealistic and that they care less for money than other people. True, they like to make money, but they are not interested in keeping it. They care for it only as a means, not as an end; they proceed at once to spend it, to distribute it, to apply it to some practical use."

In view of the frequently expressed opinion that the people of the United States are commercialistic—owned by the dollar—it naturally delighted me to hear such an interesting opinion at first hand.

This thought led to a discussion of the financial side of the study and travel plan. I explained that the steamship companies would make special concessions to help this great student movement and that other economies would be effected which would reduce expenses so as to bring the trip within the reach of many. The question of scholarships would also be considered by which students selected by the various colleges, would be enabled to enjoy the advantages of the plan. Dr. Bergson was glad to hear that, wherever I had broached the plan, it had been well received; just as in Paris, that Great Britain had

promptly agreed to arrange to receive a large group of our students this fall and to give them certificates which would satisfy our colleges; that President Masaryk and Dr. Benes, the authorities of Czechoslovakia, became most enthusiastic advocates of the movement; and that the American colleges at Constantinople and Cairo were also eager to take part in the proposed exchange.

For an hour we discussed the effect of this travel plan on the movement for world-peace.

Among other things, Dr. Bergson said: "As chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Advancement of the League of Nations, I will promise you to present this plan at our next meeting, or whenever you feel that the time is ripe. Also I will gladly write you an expression of my appreciation of the great value of the idea, both immediate and potential."

He did this in a letter written in French, which I quote with apologies for the translation:

32 Rue Vital, Paris,  
June 21, 1924.

Dear Mr. Marks:

In line with the explanations which you have been kind enough to give me with regard to the project of a vast organization of student credit exchanges between America and Europe, I wish to tell you how interesting and beautiful I find the idea to be.

An organization of this kind will have as its effect not only the enrichment of the intelligence of the young people and the aiding of them to two or more different cultures instead of one alone, but it will also have as a result the gradual binding together of the nations, if only to a better understanding and knowledge of one another.

Alone, this reciprocal understanding, with the esteem and the sympathy which are its consequences, could draw the nations together into a solid and durable bond.

I hope that this enterprise will be fruitful and I beg of you to believe in my deepest regard.

(Signed) HENRI BERGSON.

That hour with Dr. Henri Bergson will never be forgotten. The fine man, the deep scholar, the broad philanthropist opened his heart freely; on leaving him I felt truly exalted by the contact with a great and good soul.



# A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IN HONOLULU

BY MAY STRANATHAN

THE early missionaries to the Sandwich Islands did one of the best jobs in real Americanization work long before twentieth-century America ever thought of the word.

No doubt Lucy Goodale Thurston, who came in the first company of these devoted people from New England, and whose life as revealed in her letters is an almost incredible story of hardships and courage, of suffering and perseverance—no doubt this wonderful woman would have been shocked to see the great-granddaughter of one of her earliest converts mount the soap-box on a downtown corner of Honolulu, during a recent political campaign, and yell:

"Why do these candidates come down here with all that bunk about loving the Hawaiians? They make me sick. They are fourflushers and liars. Why should anybody love us any more? We have no land left."

It was really not the missionaries who took the first step in Americanizing the Hawaiian Islands, but old King Kamehameha, when he had two young men, John Young and Isaac Davis, taken off American ships and forced to remain with the natives. He gave them lands and made them chiefs, to reconcile them to their lot and to make good Hawaiians of them. But in the course of time these two young men made Americans of the Hawaiians. They began by teaching Kamehameha to use United States firearms, to fight the American way; and thus he was able to make himself king of all the islands and win the title of "Napoleon of the Pacific." A granddaughter of John Young married one of the Hawaiian kings and became Queen Emma, beloved by all; and a Hawaiian princess married the first banker of Honolulu, thus helping on the work of Americanization.

How thoroughly Hawaii has been Ameri-



HON. JOHN H. WILSON, MAYOR OF HONOLULU  
(Part Hawaiian, and a graduate of Leland Stanford University)

canized can be realized by recalling that in 1820, but little more than a hundred years ago—when Dr. Asa Thurston and his wife Lucy, with fourteen other pioneer missionaries, landed on the island of Hawaii—no stranger was allowed to build a house on Hawaiian soil, and it was only after much difficulty the missionaries were allowed to put up the house sent out by the board of missions. Recall this and then remember the radical agitator from the mainland who during the recent local campaign could be heard most any day proclaiming his slogan, "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," and on the strength of this appeal getting elected one of seven members of the Board of Supervisors, who will control the affairs of the city and county of Honolulu—which

means the entire island of Oahu—for the next four years.

This man, W. K. Bassett, whose election was so sensational, went into the campaign just after being convicted of criminal libel for calling (in his paper, the *New Freedom*) the president of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association a murderer. The accusation grew out of the killing of a man in a dispute over alien labor brought into the islands to work on sugar plantations.

Bassett's most telling campaign stunt was to ask: "What answer would you Hawaiians make to your ancestors, if they should come back and ask you what you had done with their land? You would have to say: 'We have turned it over to the sugar planters' association.'"

#### *Native Blood as a Test for Office*

Much of the campaigning was done in the soft and rather monotonous language of the Hawaiians, and nearly all the candidates were either Hawaiian or part Hawaiian. It is said to be impossible to elect to office a man who does not have Hawaiian blood—the radical member of the Board of Supervisors being a notable exception.

The natives are said to have a natural liking for politics, women as well as men. From the days of the early missionaries women have taken an active part in the government affairs, though when the first missionaries came many things were tabu to women.

One of the many writers on Hawaii states there is absolutely no race prejudice; but that writer had evidently not gone through a political campaign here, for such prejudice was constantly appealed to by the candidates. It sounds strange to the *malihini*—the Hawaiian name for newcomer—to hear men with such names as Crawford or Anderson, and looking just like their names, plead with a dark-skinned audience for its vote on the ground of common blood. One candidate declared he was one-eighth Hawaiian, and moreover he had married a Hawaiian girl and his children are Hawaiian.

As this is a Territory of the United States the President may appoint, and has done so in Wallace R. Farrington, a blond

Governor who can boast no mixture of native blood. But the Hawaiians control the political situation, and their stalwart figures are the most conspicuous ones you see on election day.

#### *Some Candidates' Qualifications*

Next to being Hawaiian, some service to the Hawaiians seems to be a favorite campaign argument. One candidate reminded his audience that he had served the islands under four governments—the monarchy, the provisional, the republic, and the territorial—and that his father had been chamberlain in the king's palace. Another made the plea, "My father was governor of this island, appointed by your king"; still another pleaded at a meeting in the downtown Hawaiian church: "Don't throw me down just because when in the legislature I introduced the Sunday amusement bill. Remember what I did for you in securing a pension for your beloved princess, that she might continue to live among you in the style befitting her royal blood."

Rich Hawaiian planters and bankers send their sons to Harvard and Yale and their daughters to Wellesley and Smith and more likely than not these children have grandparents or great aunts living back on some New England farm.

John H. Wilson, reelected Mayor of Honolulu, was graduated from Leland Stanford University and later traveled extensively. He, like the rest of the candidates, addressed his audience in Hawaiian as well as in English. He is part Hawaiian. A few of the candidates also spoke in Chinese, and there were candidates who looked as though they had never lived a day out of Shanghai. They bore such names as Charles Achi, George Ah Nee, and Charles En Sue. Both Ah Nee and En Sue are part Hawaiian. The latter is well known as a ball player, and he cited his career in a letter to the League of Women Voters as one of his qualifications for the Board of Supervisors. Another qualification he mentioned was being the father of eleven children, and he naively added that he believes "if the great Roosevelt were alive to-day he would support a man of my



HON. WILLIAM J. HEEN

(City and county attorney of Honolulu, and a graduate of the University of California. His mother is Hawaiian and his father is Chinese)



caliber, the father of eleven future American citizens."

Hawaii has been called "a paradise for the Chinese," and the mixture of Chinese and Hawaiian blood seems to be an excellent combination. One of the best examples of this mixture is Judge William J. Heen, a graduate of the University of California, a young man of much promise, who has just been reelected city and county attorney. Judge Heen, whose mother is Hawaiian and his father Chinese, bitterly resented what he believed to be an attack on his parentage in the claim made for his opponent in the campaign that he was a "thoroughbred." "I am just as proud of my father and of my mother as my opponent is of his," he declared; "they worked hard to give me an education, and I bitterly resent any disparagement of them."

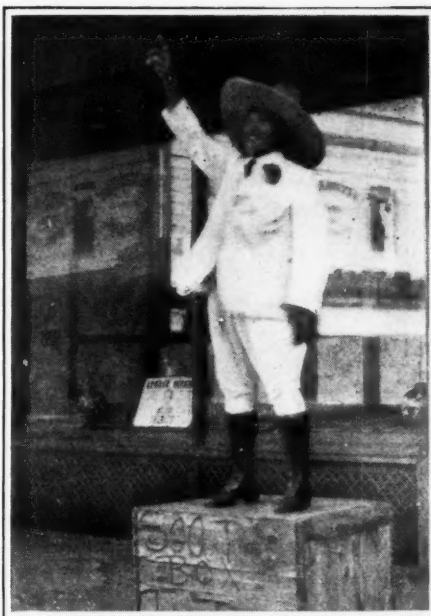
#### *Hawaii's "Soap-Box King"*

J. K. Mokumaia, familiarly known as "Two-Gun," every day at the noon hour during the campaign pulled a big soap-box into a prominent corner and invited candidates or their friends to speak from it, irrespective of party. He is a pure Hawaiian of the better type, tall and stalwart and lacking the tendency to stoutness which so many Hawaiians have. Mokumaia is quite a character, and although he has for many years conducted an automobile service he has never mastered the English language and speaks it in a manner all his own, unintelligible until you get used to it.

After listening to candidates of both parties denounce each other as liars, grafters, blackmailers, clowns, and fit only to occupy the monkey house at the zoo, and even when speakers were hooted down, Mokumaia never lost his head nor his temper. He pleaded for the elimination of "the rough stuff," and when he thought a candidate was hooted unjustly he stood by him till the angry crowd was willing to listen to reason once more.

Between speeches by candidates and their supporters Mokumaia was wont to address the audience somewhat after this fashion:

Have a heart. We got to walk careful. I don't dare tell you vote straight, fear you pull me down. [Advocates of the straight Republican ticket had been hooted down.] The Republican he say best man. Democrat he say best man. Not tell same story. We got walk careful. We got have a heart. We got shut one eye and look straight. But we must have a heart. Everybody got have a heart.



J. K. MOKUMAIA, THE "SOAP-BOX KING"

#### *The Successful Candidate for Sheriff*

Scandals in the police department, the trial of the chief of detectives on the charge of graft, and a "crime wave," especially of crimes of violence against women, made the background for the spectacular campaign of David Kaukaohu Trask for sheriff. This contest was begun in the primaries by young Trask, who had served as chairman of the civil service commission which had failed to convict the chief of detectives of graft because of insufficient and conclusive evidence. Trask maintained that the graft charge was justified and he went into the primaries opposing the former sheriff, a man of much personal popularity who had held the office for many years. Trask won out both in the primary and in the general election, where he was opposed by another young Hawaiian with a splendid war record.

Trask, who was repeatedly referred to as the Napoleon of the Honolulu and was represented as young David slaying Goliath in both cartoons and speeches, is now the popular idol of the day. His cause was backed by enthusiasts for good government of both parties, and he had a strong following among members of the League of Women Voters—which, being non-partisan,



DAVID KAUKAOHU TRASK, THE SUCCESSFUL HAWAIIAN CANDIDATE FOR SHERIFF

(With leis, or wreaths of flowers, placed around his neck by admirers)

did not as a body express any preference for him.

The League of Women Voters, scarcely more than a year old in Honolulu, has met much the same prejudices and misunderstandings it has had to face on the mainland. There are some Hawaiian women in the league, and its president, Mrs. Gertrude D. Bunker—a Boston woman who had lived in California for several years, but who is a comparatively newcomer in Honolulu—has made strong pleas for more Hawaiian members. Yet it is popularly regarded as a "silk stocking" organization of foreign women, attempting to tell Hawaiians how to run their islands.

#### *Portuguese and Japanese*

Pacifying the Portuguese seems to be a necessary part of politics in Hawaii, for they seem continually to carry a chip on the shoulder and resemble the Irish in their love of a scrap. So, beside being Hawaiian or partly so, the candidate must secure some drops of Portuguese blood even if he has to do so by a play of fancy. There are many Portuguese here, mostly descendants of laborers brought in the earlier days from Madeira. Several speakers were obliged to deny they had made disparaging remarks about the Portuguese—the spreading of such gossip being a favorite campaign weapon—and in making their

denial they generally claimed to be part Portuguese.

Although there are so many Japanese and Filipinos in Hawaii, they do not figure at election times and few of them are seen at political meetings. Being brought here to furnish cheap labor for the plantations, comparatively few of them are citizens. But the great number of Japanese children in our schools indicates that we shall have many Japanese citizens in the future.

#### *Music and Wreaths for the Candidate*

Singing by Hawaiian women is a part of every political meeting, with the exception of the soap-box talks and those arranged by the League of Women Voters. At first this music is enjoyed, for there is something indescribably attractive about the Hawaiian voice. But there is too much singing, and it grows wearisome. The candidates, if they are popular, must stand and listen to hulas composed in their honor. If a candidate is extremely popular several groups of women come with their hulas; and they must all be given a hearing, one group following another. The stanzas of these hulas seem interminable and tiresomely monotonous. The attempt to transpose the names of the candidates into Hawaiian, a language with but twelve letters—the vowels and seven consonants, j, k, l, m, n, p and w—results in strange complications. One of the easiest, the name of the Mayor, John H. Wilson, becomes Koeni Wilikins.

Another peculiarity of the political campaign in Hawaii is the custom of loading the favorite candidates with leis, wreaths of flowers, such as are bestowed on coming and departing guests. As the campaign grows in intensity the number and size of these leis increases until the night of the closing rallies, when the enthusiasm, and perhaps a determination not to be outdone by the opposition, results in almost smothering some of the men in the leis. These are brought forward and placed around their necks by women.

Yes, Hawaii is thoroughly Americanized; and we have here on this tropical island, a six days' journey from the nearest point on the mainland, much the same kind of politics with which we were familiar at home. One thing is lacking—we have no Ku Klux Klan.

# THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

## SOME SIDELIGHTS ON SIX YEARS' DELIBERATIONS

BY AMY HEWES

(Professor of Economics and Sociology, Mount Holyoke College)

SIDE by side with the League of Nations, and associated with it, there exists another international organization owing its existence to words written into the Treaty of Peace. The activities of the International Labor Organization may be said to be concerned with the causes of war which lie back of the political problems that concern the League. It was the recognition of such causes in working conditions and in industrial relations which won the place for the "Magna Charter of Labor" in the Treaty itself and provided for an annual International Labor Conference. Such a conference sat first in Washington in 1919, and held its sixth session in Geneva last summer.

It has come about that some of the labor groups to whose initiative the existence of this second great international parliament is due, have lost faith in the instrument created, and regard it with a caution matched only by that which has kept the American Government free from European entanglements. The root of the skepticism of American labor concerning the International Labor Organization appears to be in the constitution of the governing body and of the conference itself, now made up of representatives of every country of economic importance (including Germany), except Russia and the United States. It has been held by both radical and conservative groups in America that since the conference provides for two delegates for the government of each nation and only one for the workers and one for the employers, the interests of labor cannot secure adequate representation. Labor, they argue, will be outvoted by a coalition of employers' and government delegates which, it is assumed, will usually take place, as the latter are more easily influenced by the interests of capital.

### *Do Government Delegates Side with Capital?*

Seventy-nine record votes have now been taken by the six conferences. An analysis of these has been made in order to throw light on the validity of the foregoing assumption—which has been made not only by outside observers, but with great frequency by the labor members of the conference itself.

LOCATION OF GOVERNMENT MAJORITY ON ALL RECORD VOTES

| Session    | Number of Votes         |                           |                |                           | Total |
|------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|-------|
|            | Government with Workers | Government with Employers | Three Together | Government against Others |       |
| First..... | 6                       | 6                         | 13             | ..                        | 25    |
| Second.... | 6                       | ..                        | 9              | I                         | 16    |
| Third..... | 6                       | 2                         | 15             | ..                        | 23    |
| Fourth.... | I                       | ..                        | 2              | ..                        | 3     |
| Fifth..... | ..                      | 3                         | I              | I                         | 5     |
| Sixth..... | 4                       | 2                         | I              | ..                        | 7     |
| Total....  | 23                      | 13                        | 41             | 2                         | 79    |

Contrary to the assumption made, the actual voting shows a marked tendency on the part of the government group to cast its lot with the workers. The record proves that on divided votes the government delegates have been with the workers almost twice as often as they have been with the employers (23 times to 13).

Some of the record votes are, of course, on minor items of procedure; and in trying to discover the government attitude it is well to sift these out and analyze separately those which deal with the important issues to which the attention of the conference has

been given—such as the limitation of the hours of work, the protection of women and children, and the conditions of employment in dangerous trades. These are usually proposed in the form of *draft conventions* which the member States are expected to enact into law. Here the government support of the workers' general aims comes out even more strongly.

LOCATION OF GOVERNMENT MAJORITY ON VOTES  
CONCERNING DRAFT CONVENTIONS ONLY

| Session    | Number of Votes               |                                      |                        |                                 | Total |
|------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|-------|
|            | Government<br>with<br>Workers | Government<br>with<br>Em-<br>ployers | Three<br>To-<br>gether | Government<br>against<br>Others |       |
| First..... | 1                             | ..                                   | 5                      | ..                              | 6     |
| Second.... | 4                             | ..                                   | 3                      | ..                              | 7     |
| Third..... | 3                             | ..                                   | 6                      | ..                              | 9     |
| Fourth.... | ..                            | ..                                   | ..                     | ..                              | ..    |
| Fifth..... | ..                            | ..                                   | ..                     | ..                              | ..    |
| Sixth..... | 2                             | ..                                   | 1                      | ..                              | 3     |
| Total..... | 10                            | ..                                   | 15                     | ..                              | 25    |

Twenty-five such votes have been taken, and the government majorities have been with those of the workers in every single case. In fifteen of the votes concerning draft conventions the majorities of all three groups have voted together.

These facts do not demolish all of the difficulties raised by the workers in connection with claims for more adequate representation, but they do dispose of the contention that the cards are stacked against the workers by the very constitution of the conference.

#### *The Working of the Group System*

With respect to the number of representatives, however, the workers do not come out so well in practice. The actual composition of the conferences has differed from that fixed in the Treaty by a larger proportion of government delegates. The government delegates should constitute just half of the entire conference, but as a matter of fact the number has always exceeded half because some of the smaller and more distant countries (where traveling expenses are an important item) have not sent delegations which were complete with respect to the number of employers' and workers' delegates. Even in the 1924 conference, which had a smaller number of in-

complete delegations than previous ones, the government delegates numbered 69, the employers' 30, and the workers', 28. This disparity drew the usual protests from the workers, whose point of view was characteristically expressed by Mr. E. L. Poulton, Workers' Delegate from Great Britain:

We, as workers, complain not merely that the scales are weighted against us at the beginning, but by this method of incomplete delegations, those scales are still further weighted against us. . . . Supposing we have those ten or twelve additional workers here to which we are entitled; does anyone feel himself bold enough to get up here and say that if we had ten or a dozen additional representatives . . . they might not be able to influence the committees on which they would then be members, and possibly to influence the decisions of the committees . . . ?

A characteristic of the incomplete delegations, which has received little attention so far, is to be seen in the tendency of some countries to save expense by the appointment as the government delegate of one of the permanent diplomatic representatives. While this may, perhaps, be done appropriately in the case of the League Assembly, the industrial and labor interests cannot be adequately represented through persons whose qualifications are chiefly political.

The solidarity of the groups is expressed by the concentration of the votes on almost every question. It is well illustrated by the record votes taken at the sixth session. All the minorities were very small fractions of the group voting, with a single (government) exception. These votes are shown in the table on the opposite page.

A further consequence of the group system which may present real problems in the future was suggested at the last session of the conference in connection with the proposed membership of Russia, where the employing class has been largely supplanted because of the state-owned enterprises, making the employers' group and the government group almost identical. In such a case the present system has obvious difficulties of application, particularly as regards the employers' representation. From another point of view, one of the employers' delegates at the sixth session, Mr. J. S. Stanley, from South Africa, deplored the group system itself as an actual interference with the work of the conference:

It is unfortunate [he said] that the representatives of the different interests range themselves into groups, and I would strongly urge the governing body to explore and exhaust every means to obviate this ranging into groups.



ANALYSIS OF THE VOTES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE  
Sixth Session, Geneva, 1924

| Questions Voted                                                                                                                                                   | For                  |                      |                    |       | Against              |                      |                    |       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------|
|                                                                                                                                                                   | Government Delegates | Employers' Delegates | Workers' Delegates | Total | Government Delegates | Employers' Delegates | Workers' Delegates | Total |
| 1. Approval of the credentials of the Italian Workers' Delegate . . . . .                                                                                         | 34                   | 21                   | ..                 | 55    | 5                    | ..                   | 27                 | 32    |
| 2. Draft Convention and Recommendation concerning equality of treatment for national and foreign workers as regards workmen's compensation for accident . . . . . | 47                   | 14                   | 24                 | 85    | ..                   | 1                    | ..                 | 1     |
| 3. Proposal to place on the agenda of the seventh session of the conference the question of the compulsory disinfection of infected wool and hair . . . . .       | 17                   | 2                    | 22                 | 41    | 31                   | 17                   | 2                  | 50    |
| 4. Draft Convention concerning the weekly suspension of hours in glass manufacturing processes where tank furnaces are used . . . . .                             | 45                   | 1                    | 22                 | 68    | 4                    | 18                   | ..                 | 22    |
| 5. Recommendation concerning the development of facilities for the utilization of workers' spare time . . . . .                                                   | 51                   | 2                    | 26                 | 79    | ..                   | 16                   | ..                 | 16    |
| 6. Amendment submitted by the Employers' Group to Art. I of the Draft Convention concerning night work in bakeries . . . . .                                      | 4                    | 12                   | ..                 | 16    | 40                   | 1                    | 25                 | 66    |
| 7. Draft Convention concerning night work in bakeries . . . . .                                                                                                   | 48                   | ..                   | 25                 | 73    | ..                   | 15                   | ..                 | 15    |

I would, however, appeal to you to-day on this, the last item on the agenda, not to be obsessed with group voting, but to decide to vote for the greatest good of the greatest number, and in this I include consumers, employers, employees.

### *The Workers' Delegates Challenged*

Every conference has had to deal with the question of contested credentials. Two cases have been of particular interest in connection with the actual influence of labor in the conference. The Treaty requires that the non-government delegates and their advisers be "... chosen in agreement with the industrial organizations, if such organizations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries."

The credentials of the Netherlands

workers' delegate to the third session, (Geneva, 1921) were contested on the ground that this requirement of the Treaty had not been complied with in his appointment. There are in the Netherlands five separate general federations of trade unions. The one with the largest membership, the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions, was the organization consulted in the appointment of the workers' delegate in 1919 and 1920. In 1921, three other federations—the Netherlands Federation of Roman Catholic Trade Unions, the Federation of Christian Trade Unions, and the Netherlands General Trade Union Federation—informed the Government that they wanted to be considered as one organization as far as the appointment of a workers' delegate to the International Labor

Conference was concerned, holding that together they constituted "the most representative organization" in the Netherlands. The Government complied and nominated the delegate whom the three organizations agreed on.

Protests against this action were filed by the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions, by Léon Jouhaux, a member of the credentials commission, and by the executive committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions, on the ground that the largest federation, the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions, was the "most representative" and the one clearly indicated by the phrase in the Treaty, which made no reference to a combination of organizations. There was some divergence in the expert legal opinion consulted, and the conference finally decided to submit the question to the Permanent Court of International Justice. This was accordingly done and the Court sustained the validity of the appointment in an opinion dated July 31, 1922.

There appears now to be a policy, on the part of the Netherlands Government, to appoint alternatively from the Catholic and non-Catholic group, appointing at the same time one of the workers' advisers from the other group and so giving representation to each in every conference. In this way, so far as that country is concerned, some kind of an amicable working arrangement seems to have been reached. But the fear that this precedent will guide appointments in other countries has caused dissatisfaction, notably in Czechoslovakia, where a similar situation led to the protest of another workers' delegate in 1924.

Great interest centered in the protest, in 1924 for the second time, against the Italian Workers' delegate, Edmondo Rossoni, president of the Confederation of Fascist Corporations (trade unions). In this case it was contended that the Fascist corporations were not workers' organizations in the sense of the Treaty. This was the position of the workers' group as a whole and of the minority report of the credentials committee, drawn up by M. Jouhaux, who held that the Fascist corporations were not only "mixed organizations" including both workers and employers in their membership, but that they were also political organizations. This was denied by Rossoni himself and by Ambassador De Michelis, the Italian Government delegate, who explained

the nature of the Fascist corporations as follows:

There are two different conceptions of the policy which should be pursued by workers' organizations. One is a purely Marxian policy, based on the idea of class war, while the other conception is based on the idea of assisting production through the co-operation of the various classes involved. The protest which has been made by the Italian Federation of Labor, led by Mr. d'Aragona, is merely a pretext for protesting against the victory which the second conception to which I have alluded has gained in the creation of the national corporations in Italy.

The Italian delegate's credentials were finally accepted by the conference by a vote of 55 to 32, but without a single worker's vote in favor. Since the Italian (Fascist) Government delegate had stood squarely for the nomination, opposition by other government delegates could not easily escape political significance. The situation must have been a delicate one for representatives of labor governments. It is not surprising that only three government delegates were recorded against: one from Canada, a Liberal government, and two from Denmark, a Social-Democratic (labor) government. It was noted that the British Government delegates (Labor) both refrained from voting.

#### *The Conference Tries a New Procedure*

The text of the Treaty requires that the Draft Conventions and the Recommendations which the conference adopts, for ratification by the governments of the member States, shall be passed by a two-thirds majority. The conference is at present engaged in experimenting with a new procedure, according to which it first secures the two-thirds majority by a provisional vote and then decides whether it shall proceed at once to a final vote or defer final action until the next session of the conference. The idea is to give time, during the intervening year, for the governments to submit amendments to the proposed convention which would facilitate its adoption by the particular country. This plan was proposed with the hope that a larger number of conventions would be adopted more rapidly by the different countries.

The wisdom of the new plan is already being questioned by the conference itself. If a proposed convention conflicts with existing or with pending domestic legislation there is an obstacle to its adoption. But the invitation to suggest changes—which, in all likelihood, will bring addi-

tional obstacles in the way of adoption by other countries, together with all the uncertainty of the long delay and changed personnel of the conference before time for the final adoption—constitutes a menace to the efficiency of the conference in the exercise of its main function, namely that of securing uniformity of labor laws. The new procedure is largely responsible for the fact that the sixth session took final action on no single Draft Convention and on only one Recommendation—that concerning the utilization of the workers' spare time, a document which contains only the most general suggestions for legislation. "We are inviting the different governments not to think internationally but to think nationally," said Professor O'Rahilly, one of the Irish Free State government delegates in criticism of the new method. When Ireland asks to have national interests submerged, the point is certainly one to be carefully considered.

#### *What Has Been Accomplished?*

The ratification of conventions constitutes the most tangible evidence of accomplishment which the conference can offer. These have been made only very slowly; and the failures, up-to-date, of the chief industrial countries to adopt the fundamental Hours Convention of the first conference have been disappointing, though the prospect for a number of adoptions in the near future is bright. The ratifications reported during the sixth session brought the total number up to 129.

It should be noted that the ratification of conventions is, after all, only one of the significant accomplishments. Others, less formal and more difficult to measure, are none the less important. Evidence of this was afforded in the discussion of the Director's report in the last session. It gave proof, for instance, of the much stronger position of the principle of the eight-hour day, which had clearly passed from debatable ground since the conference at Washington in 1919.

One of the uses made of the conference by the labor delegates was perhaps not contemplated by the framers of Part XIII of the Treaty; namely, that of securing publicity for the righting of domestic wrongs through the international forum which the conference affords. The Japanese workers'

delegate, at the last conference, offered a resolution drawing attention to the fact that his country did not recognize the "freedom of association" of the workers and asked to have in 1925 a discussion of a "Recommendation which should aim to remove all kinds of national legislation checking the development of organized labor of the working people." Another case in point was the somewhat amusing one of the British workers' delegate, reaching out a long arm from Geneva to induce the British Labor Party to take measures in London for the enactment of an eight-hour law.

Without doubt the conference has served a useful end in the exchange of information and experience on technical and administrative points, so necessary a preliminary to legislation in a comparatively new field—such as the suspension of work in glass factories where tank furnaces are used, the elimination of night work in bakeries, and protection against anthrax. The testimony of experts in these fields must always have enormous value, but the insistence of the workers upon the conservation of human energy and life is of more than equal importance and is a consideration not always kept in view by technical experts. It was the workers who pointed out actual instances where what had been declared "technically impossible" has been again and again achieved; and it was the workers who insisted that, when once improvements which benefit the workers have been installed, they should become standardized.

No one can question that the influence of labor in the conference is growing stronger, just as certainly as the conference itself is each year becoming a more important body. The gravity of the questions with which it has to deal, many with far-reaching political and international consequences—as, for instance, the relation between reparations and working hours in Germany—has made necessary the appointment of able and experienced men. It is becoming the custom, more and more, to reappoint the same delegates to successive conferences. In this way the personnel is gaining a degree of permanence which will greatly facilitate it in the building of a tradition that will one day make the conference the effective parliament for industrial reconstruction of which its founders dreamed.

# THE INDIAN MEDICINE MAN

BY HUBERT WORK

(Secretary of the Interior; former president of the American Medical Association)

IN THE solution of the so-called Indian problem, we should recognize and treat with what appears to be the crux of it.

Whether medical progress follows intelligent civilization or precedes it is debatable, but the science of right living and public health is impossible without both.

The medical practice of the Indians is traditional, antedates history, and is modified, no doubt, by individual ingenuity and the interpretations of ignorance.

The Indian medicine man is a composite of priest, soothsayer, doctor, prophet, judge, and interpreter of dreams. Playing upon the superstitions of the red men, their ignorance of the laws of nature, and their dread of the supernatural, the Indian medicine man wields a powerful influence that depends more on fear than on faith, or medicament. Popular usage defines medicine as drugs, but modern medicine is not dependent on them in the treatment of very many disorders. Rational medicine employs any agent that will contribute to a recovery. The American Indians have likewise gone far afield from herbs, for aids in the treatment of their sick.

Although the American Indians of to-day may obtain modern scientific treatment through a medical service with its physicians and hospitals maintained by the Government on the reservations, many of them still continue to adhere to old customs and beliefs, consulting their own healers. The result is that charlatanry, quackery, and fetishism still flourish with their toll of contagion and death.

Being an aboriginal, the Indian conception of the cause of sickness was based on superstition. Having seen many of his tribe die from old age, he is not mystified and any illness due to this source does not confound him. He is able also to understand illness caused by injuries, such as being thrown from a horse or gored by a buffalo. But when a patient is stricken suddenly and without any apparent rational cause, he has no other recourse than to

attribute it to evil spirits, to witchery or sorcery.

The Indian medicine man seizes on this belief as the source of illness among the members of his race and assumes skill to controvert it. He claims that these powers come from various sources. Some medicine men claim to have attained it prenatally; others to have acquired it through dreams and visions. Among a number of tribes the medicine men render themselves unconscious and go into trances during which they claim personal communications with deities, spirits, and ghosts. Winding a rawhide thong tightly around their bodies as the first act of this scene is very impressive. Falling to the ground and remaining for a time in this condition, they claim to hold converse with the gods, and get the answer.

Nearly every medicine man has a different method of demonstrating the source of his power. A certain medicine man among the Dakota Indians practiced chewing and swallowing a piece of tobacco. In a moment or so he seemed to collapse in a swoon, emitting deep grunts and groans. After he had revived, he insisted that the sounds came from a spirit which dwelt in his stomach.

## *Power Supposed to be Derived from Animals*

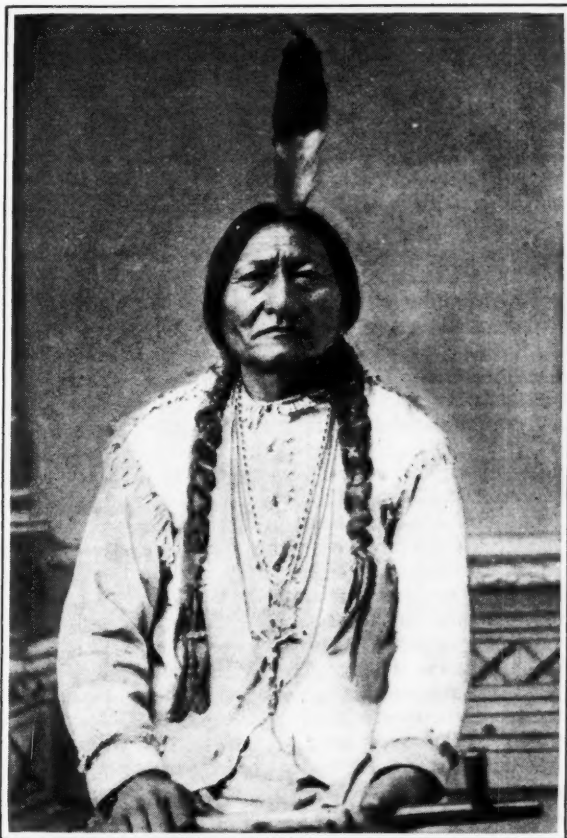
One of the most popular former medicine men of the White Mountain Apaches claimed that his ability to heal diseases came while walking alone one day in the woods when a bird spoke to him from the limb of a tree. The bird told him to go forward and he would meet an animal friend that had an important message for him from the Great Spirit. He proceeded a mile or two when he met a white horse, who conversed with him in the Apache language explaining that he had been chosen as a great medicine man to treat his people when they were sick. The horse then instructed him in the arts and mysteries of Indian medicine, which ministrations he later used in his practice as a medicine man, with much profit.



In other instances medicine men maintain that their mysterious power comes through a coyote, a lion, or a buffalo, who for the occasion are endowed with the faculty of human speech. Still others are said to derive their power from some incident in their lives, such as escaping from the jaws of a puma or surviving after being struck by lightning. Claims to magical powers are invariably used by the medicine man to convince the Indians that he is superhuman. It is a common boast among them that they can transform themselves into coyotes or other animals, at will, and then resume human form. Many claim that they can shoot off guns a hundred miles away, with the result that an enemy will be killed. There is always some sort of reservation, however, to the performance of this feat—such, as a provision that, if witchcraft is invoked, the trick will not work. This would explain accidental shooting of many people. Most of the medicine men swallow spear heads and arrows. Many are fire eaters. Some are clever magicians and hypnotists. They are inclined to rely upon repeated denials of the patient's belief in his own illness.

#### *Negotiating for the Fee*

When a sickness befalls an Indian and the members of his family summon him, the medicine man has an audience and is in his glory. His first step, of course, is to negotiate a satisfactory verbal agreement as to his compensation. If the family is unable to pay the necessary fee, the medicine man promptly abandons the case and the suffering patient is fortunately left to nature; the medicine man hoping to a merciless fate. The methods of payment vary according to the tribe, and the size of the fee "all the traffic will bear." They are not, apparently, governed by the modern white physician's mandate, "never to charge the rich more but the poor less."



SITTING BULL, FAMOUS MEDICINE MAN AND CHIEF OF THE SIOUX INDIANS

(This Indian healer is remembered most for his activities on the warpath in the Northwest—from Civil War times through the Custer massacre and down to his own violent death in 1890)

In the days before the Government maintained white physicians for the red people, the family paid the fees in ponies or buffalo meat, the charge being 20 or 30 ponies or 15 or 20 hunks of buffalo meat. On the Indian reservations now the medicine man generally demands his fee in money, a part of which must be paid in advance. In contracting to render four days of treatment the Navajo Indian medicine man receives \$10 in cash and 25 or 30 head of sheep, based upon the size of the herd of sheep owned by the particular family. His fee may range all the way from \$50 to \$500. Collections are good. The previous contract and the fear of the medicine man's hoodoo generally insures prompt payment.

*Painstaking Diagnosis*

Having arranged for his compensation, the medicine man proceeds to a diagnosis of the illness. He puts the patient through a long and tortuous examination of his personal habits, his symptoms, and his dreams—a pioneer, even antedating Freud, in psychoanalysis. He questions him as to whether he has broken any of innumerable tabus, such as eating the animal for which his family was named or partaking of the shoulder of an elk, or whether he has committed any other tabu offenses. He asks him if he has violated any of the rules laid down by the moral code of his clan or tribe. The medicine man also inquires minutely into the number and identity of his enemies.

The patient must tell everything. If he withholds a single fact, the medicine man is relieved from all responsibility for failure to effect a cure. After the medicine man has completed his examination, he announces the cause of the sickness—a frankness white doctors might more frequently emulate. He is generally able to point to some enemy, who has introduced a foreign object into the body of the sick man, and the patient and his family are always glad to fix the blame on whatever enemy may be named. Or, the patient may have been bewitched by some evil spirit or is under a magic spell. In others, his soul has flown from his body and it is necessary for the medicine man to bring it back again.

*Varied Forms of Treatment*

The treatment then begins. The medicine man goes over the body of the patient and locates the exact spot where the pain is most intense. He begins to exhort, to pray, and to sing to the accompaniment of a rattle. A tomtom is frequently used. He moistens his hands with saliva and alternates passes in the air with rubbing the affected part of the body. Finally placing his mouth to it he begins sucking. In a moment or so he produces the cause of the patient's sickness. It may be a beetle, a hair, a spider, a lizard, or eagle's claw. Sleight-of-hand, of course, is used in this final proceeding. There was a medicine man practicing among the Apaches, within the last few years, who carried a bottle of beetles with him constantly for extraction from the bodies of his patients.

There are, however, many other forms of treatment. Where a malevolent spirit is

bewitching the patient or evil magic is working against him, the medicine man must call in, not consultants, for no one knows more than he, but his assistants. Leading off in incantations and songs with steady drumming on a kettle, the medicine man goes on for hours in monotonous cadence at the sick person's bedside while his assistants reply with a refrain. Very frequently the fee is fixed by the number of hours he sings, and at present among the Navajo Indians four days and four nights of continuous incantation is the time fixed for bringing about a complete cure. Giberish is also employed. Some medicine men utter short mysterious sounds incomprehensible to the patient, and they impress him profoundly. They are sometimes so loud that they can be heard all over the Indian village. Not all medicine men depend on these methods. Individual ingenuity devises different schools of practice. How striking the resemblance to the white man's history of medical cults! Sweating is in common use to allay fever. Patients suffering with high temperatures are placed in sweat boxes, then plunged in icy water. Fire is a common remedy. Hot stones are placed on inflamed parts of the body—*Similia Similabus Curanter* ("like cures like")—the dogma on which homeopathy was founded, now largely abandoned. The medicine men also use vegetable concoctions. Many of them contain cathartics. Barks, roots, and leaves macerated in water are given internally; and it is to the medicine man's credit that none of them contains poison. With the death of many of the older Indian medicine men this mode of treatment is becoming a lost art. The medicine men also splint broken limbs. Toothaches are treated by inserting the burning end of a hard twig or a red-hot wire into the cavity.

Along with midwives of the tribes, the Indian medicine man officiates at childbirth. This practice exists on many of the southwestern Indian reservations at the present time. It is through his teachings that the practice still exists among Indian mothers of smearing the new born with paint and wrapping it tightly in an oblong package. In other cases, the infants are covered with ashes which are not removed for days. In dressing the umbilical cord the medicine man uses a mixture of tallow, pitch, and bread dough chewed until soft in his own or in the mother's mouth.

The Indian medical profession has specialists in it, but all practice mental suggestion, impressing the friends and other bystanders as well as the patient. Some confine their treatments to kneading and massaging the body, by force rather than by direction. Some of the incantations sung by the medicine men at the bedside of their patients consist of a prolonged repetition of the word "ugashe." The meaning of this word is "Go away." Other songs of medicine men are so worded as to appeal to the reason of the sick man and convince him that after all he only imagines he is ill. A real treatment for imaginary disease, but an imaginary treatment for real disease.

Fetishes, charms, and countercharms are used to neutralize the influence of witchcraft responsible for sickness. A tuft of hair, a bundle of sticks, a dried human hand, a feather or bone serves for this purpose. There is no medicine man without an ample supply of them, which he sells for large fees. In some instances where a particular fetish is regarded as a cure-all, fabulous sums are charged for them to patients in extreme pain. A medicine man will suffer death rather than part with one of his most valued countercharms. He might himself fall sick or it might return to plague him. The armamentarium of the medicine man contains a heterogeneous collection of these fetishes, charms, and countercharms. His reputation and prominence in his tribe are tremendously enhanced by the number on display.

A list of some of the articles used in the treatment of disease carried by a famous old Sioux medicine man included: 4 painted buckskin masks, 1 bunch of large eagle

feathers, 12 plume sticks, 3 bundles of mixed feathers, 16 bundles of turkey feathers, 2 bull-roarers, 2 raw-hide rattles, 1 gourd rattle, 1 bone whistle, 1 stick, 7 inches long, wrapped with buckskin, 1 stick 5 inches long, wrapped with woollen yarn, 4 miniature bows, 2 horn cups, 1 flaked quartzite implement, 1 clam shell, 2 chipped flint instruments, 2 of chipped jasper, 2 flat horn-tipped implements, 1 bundle of fire sticks, 1 necklace of hawk talons, 1 goatskin bag, 2 badger's feet, 1 small Hopi feed bowl, 1 lot of dried juniper berries, 1 lot of dried and chopped-up internal organs, 1 lot of friable sandstone, 2 lots of bone, 1 large blue glass marble, 8 lots of herbs and seeds, 1 lot of indigo, 1 lot of vegetable mold, 1 stemless clay pipe, 8 buckskin bags containing paints and earths, 10 small lots of Indian corn, 1 cone of stalagmite, 2 quartz pebbles, 1 fossil oyster, 2 wristlets of eagle and hawk talons.

In addition this medicine man carried 56 small buckskin bags containing red, blue, and black mineral paints; white and yellow earth; roots and herbs, along with numerous vegetable powders, unidentified;

pieces of abalone shell; 1 piece of quartz crystal, 1 lot of carbonated copper, 1 piece of specular hematite; a glass pendant from a lamp; gnarled vegetal stems, 1 notched stick, and a pair of wide copper tweezers.

#### *Harmful Effects of Superstition*

The outbreak of an epidemic in a tribe leads to heroic measures. Large groups of Indians are assembled in the village streets and dancing is added to the incantations. Led by the medicine men, sing-song prayers



WIKI, CHIEF ANTELOPE PRIEST AND  
MEDICINE MAN OF THE HOPI INDIANS  
OF ARIZONA



GEMIWUNAC. A MEDICINE MAN OF WIDE INFLUENCE AMONG THE CHIPPEWA INDIANS

and drumming continue for long periods of time, all present joining in a chorus. At the recent outbreak of a typhus epidemic among the Navajos on the San Juan reservation, efforts to delouse the Indians were combated with the greatest vigor, the medicine men of this tribe claiming that to kill the lice on the bodies of the Indians would be fatal to the Indian. They also opposed every effort of Government physicians to stamp out the epidemic and threatened to hoodoo every Navajo who allowed himself to be treated by a white doctor. Little progress was made until several Indian medicine men themselves died in their faith. The Indians then flocked to the delousing station.

In a recent report to the Department of the Interior, by a physician of the Indian medical service stationed in Arizona, was submitted the following regarding the

#### Indian medicine man of the present day:

Get rid of the medicine men and the Indian Office will make more progress in one year than it has heretofore made in any ten years. This would be as true of many other tribes as it is of the tribes under this jurisdiction.

The Indians have a strong natural inclination and desire to cling to their old habits and customs. This being true, it is reasonable to suppose that so long as they have leaders of their own race who also believe in holding to the things of the past, to whom they may look for advice and counsel, they will be hindered in their progress. It is impossible to serve two masters. They cannot follow their superstitious and backward leaders and make progress under the Government program of education at the same time. The Government can never gain their full confidence so long as their mentality is subjugated to the retarding influence of the medicine men.

The medicine man thrives on ignorance and superstition; consequently, he does all in his power to keep the people from patronizing the Service physicians. He threatens to haunt them and to bewitch them, and he sends out his vassals to warn them of the dire disasters to be visited upon them if they fail to render him obedience and homage, and do not cease taking up the white man's ways. This makes the successful practice of scientific medicine most difficult among Indians.

Missionaries who have been here for a number of years have told me that the medicine men hold the Hopi Indians back more than any one thing. School principals have told me that the medicine men caused them more trouble than everybody else combined.

Congress, through the Civil Service Commission, prescribes qualifications for teachers and physicians sent out to minister to the Indians. It might properly stipulate the medical qualifications for Indian doctors that would at least prevent their contributing to death; or, now that they are all citizens, authorize the State to license them. Educated Indian physicians is a logical solution, but it would require a generation to develop them, together with the missionary spirit necessary to hold them among their people.

The Indian Bureau, as it is now constituted, including a higher grade of superintendents than ever before, could very soon relegate the harmful practices of medicine men. With their ocular demonstrations abandoned, medical superstitions would soon be lost, and, instead, sanitation and rational preventive medicine, in which drugs play an unimportant part, could take its place.



# THE REVOLUTION IN GERMAN STUDENT LIFE

BY ANNA L. CURTIS

THE joyous, care-free life of the German university student has been for many years a favorite theme of writers at home and abroad. That a student should earn even a part of his expenses by tutoring was unusual; that he should do it by manual labor was unthinkable. The financial distress of the years since the war has wrought an almost unbelievable change in student thought and life. Many eager students have been obliged to give up their academic work entirely, in order to support their families; a tremendous majority of those who are yet in the universities are earning their own way by the work of their hands.

Thus may be summed up five years of the most intense effort for a hundred thousand young men—years of gradually decreasing income, of anxious economy, and of a remarkable achievement in coöperation; years of privation, of actual starvation, which have forced thousands to give up the struggle, have driven some insane, and have seen tuberculosis take heavy toll of the thinly-clad, underfed students; but years in which they have sought eagerly for employment of any kind, and have learned that no honest toil is degrading.

## *Students Who Help Themselves*

In the year 1919, German students who had been in the war returned to their universities. In that same year, a group in Dresden University, driven by harsh necessity, conceived the germ of the great idea which has brought about this revolution in student life, and has alone made it possible for thousands to continue their studies. They secured a field-kitchen, a sack of rice, and a sack of flour, and organized a "Students' Coöperative Economic Association." To-day such an association exists in every German university or technical school. They have established dining-rooms where 50,000 or 60,000 stu-

dents eat, employment offices which find work for thousands, coöperative sales-rooms with a daily turnover of 100,000 marks, work-shops of every kind, students' homes and infirmaries, subscription libraries, and the like—all developments of the students' system of self-help.

These various associations are united under one executive committee, which carries on all transactions with the university authorities, the economic authorities and the trades unions. It purchases and distributes all supplies, and is the "students' loan-bank" for all Germany. To this loan-bank every student participating pays a small sum annually until his last year of study—which, under the German system, is particularly hard and scarcely permits the possibility of outside work. This loan-fund, with some additional money advanced by banks, is then available for grants to students in their last year, that they may do their best work without the distracting necessity of earning a living.

## *A Sharp Falling-Off in Numbers*

But in the years before that last one the struggle is hard, indeed; and no coöperative organization can do more than make it possible to carry it through. Even with this mutual support many have been obliged to give up their studies entirely, and the number who enter the universities is reduced to a minimum. In 1921, there were 110,000 German students; in 1923, about 76,000 men and 8,700 women. For 1924, the falling-off continues. In the University of Berlin, for instance, the number of students diminished in this one year from 22,000 to 17,000. Rents increased 100 per cent. in January and February, 1924; railway fares went up more than 100 per cent.; and it became increasingly difficult for one to find part-time positions. University scholarships fell in value to next to nothing, a once large

scholarship having a total yearly value of perhaps fifty cents. It is for such reasons as these that 6 per cent. of the Berlin students of 1923 entered full-time employment without completing their courses.

#### *Vacation and Part-Time Work*

The coöperative associations began, in most instances, by starting students' eating-rooms where the cheapest foods could be provided at the lowest possible prices. There was potato-paring, dish-washing, and similar work to do. Students gradually took over these jobs. Student homes were started—on a non-profit basis, of course. Here was coal to shovel, wood to chop; more chances for students to earn a trifle. The associations began to make it possible for students to do their own repairs. There were cobbling shops, where they could mend their shoes; why not mend for others, as well? There were bookbinderies, where they could bind their own books; why not do this for others, for pay? So with the laundries, the tailor-shops, etc.

Practically all the workshops which were primarily established in order to help the students make or mend their own possessions, were soon transformed into small industries. Others have been opened—for printing, mimeographing, type-writing, typewriter repairing, locksmithing, carpentering, photography, and the like. The associations secured the goodwill of the trades-unions; they put themselves in touch with land-owners and employers of labor of every variety. During the vacations, student-laborers went in gangs to the potash or brown-coal mines; they cleared wood in the forests; they worked on farms during the harvest season; they filled empty places in factories of every description. Those who do not earn enough for their needs during the vacations must find part-time jobs throughout the university year. The German student of to-day despises no work of which he is physically capable and which leaves him time for study.

In the summer of 1922, 42 per cent. of the university students were "working students," as were 62 per cent. of the men in technical colleges and 88 per cent. of those in mining academies—some 47,000 in all. The year before, out of 110,000 students, 36,000 were working for their living and education. But in 1923, in spite of

the great falling-off in numbers (to about 76,000 men and 8,700 women) there were nearly 70,000 of them toiling in factories, mines and on farms during the summer.

#### *Living Conditions*

Students have lived during the last couple of years in attics, in condemned dwelling-houses, in cellars with neither light nor fire, studying and warming themselves in the waiting-rooms of railway stations, or the overcrowded reading-rooms of the universities. The Student Homes, of course, have managed to provide lighted and warmed study-rooms, but these have been all too few to meet the need.

In November, 1923, Germany succeeded in stabilizing her currency, at least temporarily. On the basis of the true mark-value, a statistician calculated last April the monthly funds necessary for a student to "live modestly." This budget allows about 25 marks a month for food, assuming that two meals a day are eaten at the student mess, at a cost of 25 pfennig (about six cents) each. Twenty-two marks a month are allowed for room, heat, and light; 20 marks for books, tuition, etc., with a few marks for washing and sundries. The conclusion is that he may get along on a monthly income of 75 to 80 marks—less than twenty dollars. This makes no provision for railway fares or clothing. But, so far as carfare is concerned, one can walk. And as to clothing, after seeing a student wearing a swallowtail coat, unashamed, on every occasion of every-day life, summer or winter, one realizes that new clothing has no place in the average student budget.

#### *The New Student Type*

The students of Germany have paid a great price for their education in these last years, in privation and consequent loss of health—the average German student now weighs about nine pounds less than the average American—but they have gained something intensely worth while. They have learned how to work, and they know that manual labor is not in itself degrading. A new generation is being born into the universities, a generation with early experience of the struggle of life. The universities had too long been cultivating the intellect only, to the neglect of character; hand work had been neglected for brain work, life for theory. The new student combines the mental and manual worker

in one person, and there can be no doubt of his superiority to the old type.

Moreover, he has learned something of the great lesson of coöperation. In every university, the students were divided into associations and groups, often of such opposing views as to be absolutely hostile to each other. The lines of cleavage were distinct and definite. So much the more remarkable, then, is this achievement in coördinating all these groups in the Economic Association, even under the stress of common necessity.

Still more important is the fact that the "working student" is breaking down class distinctions. Students and laborers had lived in different worlds, each class scorning and despising the other. Now they are beginning to know and esteem each other, as men with a common problem and a common humanity. The students have

thrown down the bars which they themselves had erected.

Here, then, is taking place, with incredible swiftness, and almost unnoticed by the outside world, one of the most vital changes in all German history. It is truly a revolution—a revolution as important to the country as the change in government itself. It means the strengthening toward democracy of the struggling new Government. The "working student" of Germany has already done something, and will in the future do much more, for the social reconciliation of a country in which a class war is far from impossible. There are many disturbing factors in Germany of to-day, whether in her domestic or her international aspects; but at the same time there are some hopeful elements, and not the least of these is the democratizing influence of the "working student."

## POLITICS VERSUS ECONOMICS IN RUSSIA

BY WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

TWO years ago the average foreign observer in Russia was convinced that the country had made a good start on the road back to capitalism after its Communist revolution. At that time the Moscow hotels were crowded with concession-hunters, expansive in conversation if not in financial backing. The things that first caught the eye of the casual sojourner—the crowded restaurants and gambling-casinos, the revived horse-races, the ostentatious luxuries of the newly rich—all seemed to point to a rapid reversion to the old order of wealth and poverty.

To-day one is apt to hear a different story from the members of Moscow's foreign colony. The new economic policy, one is told, is being given up. The state is making a concerted drive against capital, domestic and foreign. Following Lenin's death there has been a reversion to rigid communism on the part of the Soviet leaders. The result of the party controversy which took place last winter is interpreted as a victory of the stricter Communists over the innovators who would

have favored granting more latitude to private capital.

However, one should always take the current gossip of the Moscow foreign colony with the proverbial grain of salt. The outsider, especially one who has not followed carefully the development of the Russian Revolution, has a natural tendency to formulate his opinions hastily, to generalize from insufficient facts. It was not true that Russia was reverting to private capitalism in 1922; it is not true that Russia is headed for a return to rigid communism to-day. One must not lose sight of the fact that the Soviet Government is dominated now by precisely the same men who dominated it two years ago. There is not a single new face in the recently elected Political Bureau, the leading group in the powerful Central Committee of the Communist Party. This body, as formerly, consists of Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Rykov, Tomsy, and Bukharin.

This continuity of personalities involves to a certain extent continuity of policies,

and it almost excludes the possibility of any abrupt lurching from a program of full-blown capitalism to one of rigid communism. Rather should we interpret the apparent changes and contradictions in the policy of the Soviet Government toward private capital as the inevitable by-products of a constant see-saw between political principle and economic expediency.

### *The "New Economic Policy" of 1921*

Anyone might have foreseen that such a see-saw would ensue as a result of the adoption of the new economic policy by the Soviet Government in the spring and summer of 1921. This policy represented a temporary renunciation of some of the more extreme and untenable communist theories. By legalizing private trade and private petty industry, by abolishing conscription of labor together with the state obligation to provide work or maintenance for the unemployed, by dropping the system of more or less equalized rations of food and clothing for the city population, and introducing wages, varying considerably for different kinds of work, the Soviet Government permitted the restoration of social and economic inequalities which the revolution was supposed to have swept away.

If the new economic policy had gone further in the direction of concessions to foreign and domestic capitalism, and if it had been accompanied by the introduction of even a moderate measure of political democracy, Russia by this time would have become almost indistinguishable from any other democratic country with a radical party in control of its government. But the Communist party was determined that the adoption of the new economic policy should not connote the final surrender of its theoretical program. So it kept in its own hands both the monopoly of political power and effective control of the economic and financial systems of the country. The large industrial plants, the banks, the most important trading organizations, the monopoly of foreign trade—all these important bases of economic power remained in the hands of the Soviet state, which is practically identical with the Communist party.

Under these conditions a remarkable, almost an unprecedented state of affairs developed in Russia. Power was exclusively in the hands of one class; wealth in the hands of another. The Communist, bound by the rigid rules of his party, cannot

accumulate wealth. He is limited to a modest salary; any pursuit of private gain, if discovered, would mean expulsion from the party. To be sure, if he is sufficiently influential, and if his tastes run in that direction, he can secure good living quarters and an automobile and other accessories of a comfortable, or even of a luxurious life; although a style of living that seems too ostentatious may bring down censure or punishment from the Party Control Committee. But, while leading Communists may and sometimes do live in a style that is far from ascetic, they cannot very well accumulate large sums for themselves, nor hand them down to their children.

### *Russia's Nepman, or Profiteer*

The Nepman (NEP is the convenient Russian abbreviation for "new economic policy")—that is, the lucky speculator or the skillful private trader—may make as much in a day as the Communist commissar or bank president earns in a month. But politically and socially this Nepman is a pariah. He cannot vote or hold office. He cannot exert any influence on the government that may publish decrees which injure or destroy his business. His children are discriminated against in the universities. Even his room rent is fixed by a committee of workers, in which he is allowed to have no voice. In short, Russia is one of the few countries in history where the rich constitute, in many respects, a socially and politically outlawed class.

The very existence of a wealthy class in a Communist state was an anachronism which was bound to lead to a certain degree of conflict between political and economic considerations. Politically the first instinct of the Communist Government is to fall on the newly enriched class of Nepmen and destroy it. But economically this is out of the question. Freedom of internal trade and the adoption of a monetary system, and other capitalist methods in industrial production, were the only remedies for the economic collapse of Russia in 1921. And it was inevitable that the adoption of these remedies by the Soviet Government should permit some individuals to enrich themselves. The internal policy of the Soviet Government from 1921 on has been largely concerned with finding a mean between the two extremes of giving the Nepmen a free hand and thereby permitting the restoration of a complete



capitalist order in Russia, or pressing too heavily on them and thereby destroying the new economic policy which alone enabled Russia to recover from the famine and destitution of 1921.

### *The New Class Monopolizes Retail Trade*

Naturally this policy has been somewhat wavering in its applications. At first the joy of the Government at seeing the initial signs of revival was so great that the Nepmen were comparatively little molested. The predominant feeling in 1922 was that Russia must get on its feet, even if this involved far-reaching concessions to private capitalism. It was felt that it was better to have stores run by private individuals than to have no stores and no trade at all. So, with the legalization of private trade, a host of petty traders sprang up almost by magic and began to flourish. The scarcity of goods made profiteering easy and the falling paper money of that time paved the way for the so-called "black bourse" speculators, the men who made money by shrewd trading in foreign exchange.

In the spring of 1923 a different spirit toward the Nep began to manifest itself in governmental circles. The worst agonies of famine and industrial prostration were left behind. Freed from its haunting fear of economic catastrophe, the Government allowed somewhat freer scope to its political impulse to keep the Nepmen in their place. Heavy taxes and high rents were imposed upon the traders and merchants, and a noticeable number of private stores found themselves obliged to close down. However, although the Nepmen at this time were vociferous in their complaints and lamentations, the accumulation of private capital was not seriously checked. Some of the weaker and less fortunate were forced to go out of business, but those who possessed more capital and more facility in adapting themselves to conditions increased and multiplied. An investigation last winter showed that the Nepmen had in their hands approximately five-sixths of the retail trade of the country. Most of the wholesale trade was still in the hands of the state; but about two-thirds of the capital invested in trade came from private sources.

### *Communists Become Jealous*

The steady growth of this newly enriched class of Nepmen created political and social as well as economic problems for the Soviet

Government. It was a severe strain on the patience and discipline of the rank-and-file Communist, living on a scanty wage or salary as a factory worker or government employee, to see Nepmen riding about in automobiles, wearing expensive clothes, dining in luxurious restaurants, crowding the fashionable summer resorts in the Caucasus and the Crimea. The strain became almost intolerable when some highly placed Communists yielded to the temptations of their position and began to live more or less in the style of Nepmen themselves.

Last summer there were strikes in a number of factories in Moscow, Kharkov, and Sormovo. There were various local causes for these strikes, but a mood of rebellion against the Nep was a common feature. Even more ominous than the strikes was the formation of two illegal secret organizations inside the ranks of the Communist party, known as the *Rabochaya Pravda* and the *Rabochaya Gruppya*. While these two organizations differed in their programs, they both threw out slogans of opposition to the party bureaucracy and denunciation of the excesses of the Nep. While both were numerically small and quickly suppressed, their mere emergence was a serious symptom of disaffection, when one considers the iron-bound discipline of the Communist party, which makes participation in any other political movement an almost unforgivable crime.

The strikes and the emergence of the two illegal party organizations were followed by the much more formidable "opposition" movement within the party. This opposition—which derived a good deal of its prestige from the fact that Trotzky was supposed to be in sympathy with its aims, although he never formally identified himself with its program—accused the Central Committee majority of stifling democracy within the party and of slackness in combating the evils of the Nep.

### *Repressive Measures Invoked*

Confronted with all these political difficulties, the ruling group in the Communist Party Central Committee—which is generally believed to consist of Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev—adopted a series of measures which have been regarded abroad as indicating a disposition to abandon the new economic policy altogether, but which really represented a temporary political swing to the left, as a sort of offset to the

previous economic swing to the right. Beginning in December, 1923, there set in a process of expelling so-called undesirable Nep elements from Moscow. The authorities began with professional gamblers, and, having cleaned them out pretty thoroughly, turned their attention to bootleggers and also to speculators whose activities were regarded as harmful. Altogether, several thousand individuals, more or less prominently identified with the Nep, left Moscow in the course of the winter. Some of these received a police order to move on; others scented trouble in the offing and departed of their own volition.

Toward spring other repressive measures were taken against the Nepmen. The house committees which govern most of the large Moscow apartment houses were reorganized with a view to putting Communists and workers in control. These reorganized house committees promptly proceeded in many cases to raise the rents and curtail the room space of the "bourgeois" inhabitants of the houses. In the cutting down of the number of students in universities and higher technical schools, which took place in the spring as a result of poverty and overcrowding, social origin played a considerable rôle in determining the students selected for expulsion; and children of wealthy and middle-class parents were treated with special severity.

Another recent anti-Nep tendency in Russia is the expressed determination of the state to get more of the country's trade in its own hands. A special commissariat for internal trade has been created; various measures for strengthening the coöperatives have been adopted; and Zinoviev recently declared that the proportion of private capital invested in trade must be cut down from two-thirds to one-third.

#### *But the New Economic Policy Is Retained*

However, all these restrictive and repressive measures do not, as is sometimes asserted outside of Russia, imply an abandonment of the new economic policy. It was pressure from the individualistic peasants that proved the decisive factor in pushing the Soviet Government into going over to Nep, and this pressure has increased rather than diminished during the last three years. To go back to the old system of requisitioning and rationing in the face of the opposition of the hundred million peasants who constitute an over-

whelming majority of the Russian population would be unthinkable. Even the most optimistic Communists recognize that collectivistic forms of production among the conservative peasants are only possible after a tremendous preparatory work in the shape of widespread education and the introduction of modern machinery—a process that might well stretch over half a century. In the meantime Russia will have Nep, at least so far as freedom of internal trade is concerned, because the peasant demands it; and the peasant, despite his lack of effective political representation, is always in a position to put decisive economic pressure on the Government to get what he wants.

For financial reasons alone any serious effort to destroy the Nep would seem out of the question. The Soviet Government, which stabilized its currency last February, is desperately in need of every penny of revenue it can secure. And the main contributors to the state treasury are the classes which profited by the Nep, and which would disappear should the Nep be swept out of existence. These classes are the Nepmen in the cities and the kulaks, or rich peasants, in the country districts. The Nepmen pay hundreds of millions of rubles in direct and indirect taxation. Moreover, they employ a certain number of workers in their trading and small industrial enterprises, and a serious drive on the Nep would mean an undesirable increase in the already large number of Russia's unemployed. The kulaks in the villages pay the lion's share of the agricultural tax, collected from the peasants on the basis of their yearly income, which is one of the most important items in the budget. Moreover, the kulaks, as Vice-Premier Kamenev recently showed, raise most of the surplus grain that Russia needs for export purposes.

The elimination of the Nepmen and the kulaks would leave a gaping hole in the Russian budget, which could scarcely be filled by the proceeds from the state trade and state industry. With this fact in view, the Soviet Government, while it may make concessions to the political principles of its working-class followers by harrying and raiding the Nepmen more or less periodically, will scarcely fly in the face of economic expediency so recklessly as to destroy with the new economic policy its chief sources of revenue and the basis for the country's continued economic development.

# OUR TARIFF TROUBLES AND THE REMEDY

BY THOMAS WALKER PAGE

(Chairman of the U. S. Tariff Commission, 1920-22)

WE HAVE had no end of trouble with the tariff in this country because we have tried to use it for carrying out some purpose without knowing how high it would have to be in order to meet that purpose. When we are Republicans we wish to use it for protecting domestic industries by equalizing foreign and domestic costs of production. When we are Democrats we wish to use it for raising revenue by ensuring equal competition between foreign and domestic industries. But if there is any difference between ensuring equal competition and equalizing costs of production it is not visible to the naked eye. To judge from their professions the two parties are in perfect agreement. In their practice, however, they have drawn apart; Republican tariffs are always higher than Democratic.

Neither party has known what rates of duty would accomplish the intended purpose. For that reason they have been helpless in the hands of selfish interests so often as to create a belief that whatever tariff Congress may enact it is sure to be wrong. In consequence there has been a great deal of talk about "taking the tariff out of politics" and about "making it scientific." The U. S. Chamber of Commerce even proposed that the fixing of duties be taken away from Congress altogether. Compared with such talk the crackling of thorns under a pot is the essence of wisdom. The tariff is itself the expression of a policy and you cannot take a policy out of politics; neither can it remain a policy and at the same time be "scientific."

## *The Tariff as a "Local Issue"*

Nevertheless, discontent with the prevailing methods of tariff-making is most natural. When it is not known, either in or out of Congress, just what duties will

carry out a policy that has been approved at the polls, the way is open for misunderstanding and also for misrepresentation and intrigue. The tariff touches the pocket-book of everybody in this country in some way. But some of its effects are diametrically opposed to others. When a new law is being framed, therefore, the conflicting interests use every device in their power to persuade members of Congress to enact the high or the low duties which they respectively prefer. There is usually little time and less means for checking up the accuracy of their conflicting arguments.

Under these circumstances a member of Congress is free to believe what he prefers to believe. Naturally he is inclined to work for the interests of his own district and to follow the wishes of influential constituents who have sent him to Congress and who may be tempted to put him back where he came from if he tries to be too independent. As he lacks authentic information to disprove their claims, he must bury all doubt of their truth and justice if he wants to be reelected. That is why the tariff came to be called a "local issue." Local interests are more easily understood and are more strongly urged than that remoter and more complicated thing we call the national welfare.

## *Inconsistencies in Tariff Laws*

But as the interests of different localities and different industrial groups vary widely and are often in sharp conflict, members of Congress are compelled, if they are to get any law passed at all, to make concessions to one another. To get support for the duties they want, they must agree in turn to accept other duties that they do not want. In this way "blocs" and factions have to be reconciled. Political expedience, the energy and "pull" of influential members, the party outlook in doubtful States lead to

a trading of duties which, if considered singly on their merits, would not command a majority of votes in either House. There is no visible logic, for example, in the action of the Democrats in 1913 in putting wool on the free list and leaving a high duty on mohair. By the same token there was also no logic in the Republican arrangement which recently made wool dutiable and left the long-staple cotton growers of Arizona unprotected. The Republican Senator from Arizona thought so, and actually voted against his party on the bill's passage.

The situation is far from comfortable for Congress in spite of the common impression that that turbulent body rejoices in the Walpurgis Night revelries of tariff revision. He is wrong who thinks that the members find bliss in their ignorance about duties, that they enjoy the threats and pleadings of their constituents, and that they view with pleasure the strong possibility that the tariff as finally passed may lead to defeat at the polls. For every member who has won credit and renown through his record on the tariff, there have been at least ten whose aspiring careers have come an ignominious cropper. Much as the country has suffered from the continuous "tinkering with the tariff," Congress has undoubtedly suffered still more.

#### *Lack of Knowledge the Crucial Evil*

Concisely stated, then, the real trouble with the tariff is as follows: First, successive acts have failed to conform in important particulars to the policy which the majority of voters thought they were endorsing at the polls. Second, the active cause of the failure has been the influence of special interests which are not national in scope, but are confined to industrial groups, geographical sections, or political "blocs" and factions. Third, that which has made it possible for this influence to overcome the will of the people has been the lack of information showing what rates of duty would truly accord with the policy proclaimed by the party entrusted with power. In regard to the tariff, therefore, lack of trustworthy information is the root of all evil.

This lack was greater in 1921, when the House of Representatives was framing the existing law, than it had ever been before. The World War had completely broken down the whole system of commerce and industry under which nations had been

producing and trading with each other. Prices, costs of production, imports, consumption, transportation facilities—in short, everything that is supposed to have any significance for determining duties, was in a state bordering on chaos.

#### *Trying a "Flexible" Tariff*

In this country, under the favor of Providence, business was less upset than anywhere else. On that ground the House proposed to take American instead of foreign prices as the base for levying duties. Thus, for example, instead of making a duty 60 per cent. of the price at which pocket-knives are sold in Germany, it was proposed to make it 45 per cent. or some other per cent., of the price at which similar American knives are sold in this country. This departure from long-established custom was incorporated in the bill when it passed the House and went up to the Senate.

For reasons both various and good the proposed change met with violent opposition. The Senate decided that it would be wise to drop it. The party leaders in the House, however, insisted that it must be retained unless some other means could be found for protecting American producers against foreign goods selling at absurd prices in depreciated foreign money. What would be the use, they asked, in putting a duty of even 100 per cent. on German pocket-knives, if the knives could be bought in Germany at fifty marks a dozen when a mark was worth less than one cent? Although foreign prices were rising, they were rising in a currency that was falling, and what the combined result would be passed all understanding.

The Senate was as much impressed as the House with the seriousness of the situation, and saw the necessity of offering some substitute for the House measure. The purpose of the party in power was to protect American industries. To make sure that this was done, in spite of falling exchanges and other uncertainties, it was thought necessary to fix duties fully as high, and in many instances substantially higher, than they had been in the Payne-Aldrich tariff of 1909. But it had been the unpopularity of that tariff which had led to the defeat of the Republican party, from which it had only just recovered. Some means must be found, therefore, to reconcile public opinion to such high duties.

Partly to compromise with the House,



therefore, and partly to reassure the country that if duties were found on experience to be too high or too low they might be readily changed, the Senate adopted a provision to make the tariff flexible or elastic. Under this provision the President was given the power to raise or lower duties by 50 per cent. whenever he found it necessary to do so in order to make them equal to the difference between foreign and domestic costs of production. But before he could change a duty on any article he must wait for the Tariff Commission to find out by investigation what the difference in costs really is.

#### *Difficulty of Determining Costs of Production*

The expectation of any real flexibility under this provision has been disappointed. The Tariff Commission stated in June, 1924, nearly two years after the law was passed, that it had completed only three investigations. All of these led to an increase of duties. Two of them were comparatively trivial, as they dealt with sodium nitrite and barium dioxide, chemicals of relatively slight importance. The members of the commission were divided as to what the other investigation, which dealt with wheat, actually showed. Half of the members concluded from it that it cost 70 cents a bushel more to produce wheat in this country than in Canada. The other half put the difference at 42 cents. The President accepted the opinion of the latter group and raised the duty on wheat by only 12 cents as it was already 30 cents in the law. Contrary to expectation, after the duty was raised the price of wheat fell! It did not rise again until the prospect of a short crop led to higher prices both in this country and in Canada.

The disagreement as to the cost of growing wheat illustrates a weakness of the measure. That weakness consists in the fact that costs of production appear to be high or low according to the system of accounting that is used. No system can be devised which will show, with the accuracy necessary for measuring duties, what the difference is between the costs in one country and the costs in another. When to this is added the unwillingness of foreigners to permit American agents to investigate their business with a view to levying duties on their products, it is not to be expected that a comparison of foreign and domestic costs for most industries can be made without

counting in many factors that must be merely guessed at.

#### *An Illustration from the Case of Wheat*

Aside from this difficulty of administering a flexible tariff there are some other serious objections to it. One is the probability of the flexibility being *perverse*. Costs of production in many of the great industries are apt to change more rapidly than the Tariff Commission can conduct investigations. This seems to have already occurred in the case of wheat farming. The Tariff Commission found, for example, that the American costs were higher than the Canadian, not because the American farmer paid more for labor or land or fertilizer, but simply because at the time of the investigation the Canadian was getting about twice as much wheat from an acre as the American. That was last year. This year the tables have been turned. The Canadians are having a season so bad for wheat that their harvest is expected to be hardly half of what it was a year ago, while the season in this country has been exceptionally good. The result is that instead of the higher duty proclaimed by the President a new investigation would probably show that under the equalizing of costs formula a lower duty would have to be proclaimed.

#### *Adding to Business Uncertainty*

The fear of this perversity in a flexible tariff tends to keep business men always uneasy. They dread a change that may upset all their calculations. As this is written the sugar producers are greatly agitated at the possibility that the Tariff Commission may have reported to the President that costs in their industry last year would justify reducing the duty. If the President should act upon the report, the lower duty would apply until a new investigation has been made. As the necessary investigation requires a year for completion it is evident that any duty based on it would take effect on an entirely new crop raised under conditions which might be, as they were in the case of wheat, altogether different from those found by the commission. In this way a flexible tariff adds to the uncertainty and insecurity of business and works a very real hardship.

Protests have been made by many industries against a flexible tariff which keeps them guessing all the time. Considering the circumstances which led to the

adoption of this peculiar device it is reasonable to expect that, whatever the result of the approaching election may be, it will not remain a part of the law after Congress again turns its attention to the tariff.

#### *Our Ignorance about Imported Goods*

A little consideration of the gaps in the information that is needed will show why our tariff legislation has been so defective.

Consider, then, how little we have really known about many important foreign goods on which our duties are levied. Before the War we used to import, for example, about 6,000,000 pounds of cotton yarn. In 1920 the amount had risen to 10,000,000 pounds. The larger imports were still small in comparison with our own production, which was two and a half billion pounds, but Congress took the figures to mean that foreign competition with domestic manufacturers was increasing and so when framing the existing law it raised the duty on yarn. In fact, however, although Congress did not know it at the time, most of the imports were varieties of yarn that are not made in this country. The greater part of them was made in England out of Egyptian cotton and was spun to a fineness that our spinners do not even attempt. Some of it was gassed or "prepared" or otherwise finished by processes that we do not find it profitable to apply. Most of it is used in the lace and lace curtain industries which must either import it from abroad or go without. Increased imports, therefore, instead of meaning greater competition merely meant a growth of American industries for which this imported yarn was a necessary raw material. Until the Tariff Commission investigated the quality of the imports, however, it was assumed that every pound of imported yarn displaced yarn made by American labor in American mills.

#### *Unrecognized Differences in Quality of Products*

The trade names and official classifications under which foreign goods are brought in are often misleading when it comes to determining whether they actually compete with or whether they merely supplement domestic products. We produce great quantities of china clay, but the manufacturing potters say that it is so uneven in quality and so inferior to English china clay that they can not use it for the finer

grades of china. Of course the clay producers deny this. We have also large deposits of manganese ore, but manufacturers of ferro-manganese say there is little or none of it fit for use except in the low-grade variety known as spiegeleisen. In the case of wool the present law does indeed recognize differences in quality to the extent of admitting the coarse wool used in making carpets free of duty. But there are equally marked differences of quality and variety in wheat, in steel, in cattle, in innumerable other classes of imports which are entirely ignored.

Congress has not known enough about these differences to decide whether imports compete with domestic products or not, and has been apt to clap the same duty on all varieties because they have the same name. In doing so it has hurt some industries, helped none, and has needlessly burdened American consumers. At the same time, however, it should not be forgotten that there are many attempts to mislead Congress in the other direction. There are many assertions of a difference that does not really exist, and many claims for special consideration which careful inquiry would show to be ill-founded. But Congress can not make the necessary inquiry after a tariff revision has been once begun. It has been compelled, therefore, either to proceed in the dark or to follow the wishes of interested parties.

Thus, although foreign and domestic goods have the same name, it does not necessarily follow that they compete in the market. But there is a reverse side to the picture. Competition is sometimes exceedingly keen between goods that are entirely unlike in name, in composition, quality and appearance. The Japanese, for example, make out of rice straw a floor covering that competes strongly with the grass rugs made in this country. The Japanese product does not look quite as well, does not wear nearly as well and is by no means as well made as the American product. But some years ago—and it is probably true to-day—an American grass rug that cost \$15 could be replaced by a Japanese rug that cost \$3.25. In the same way imitation "Panama" hats can be imported at a small fraction of the price for hats made in America. Flimsy and cheaply made toys and millinery and certain varieties of cutlery and wood manufactures and chinaware and many other articles are im-

ported and displace in the market articles of domestic manufacture that are altogether different from them in quality and composition.

#### *What Is Competition?*

These examples show how hard it is to find out whether or not imported goods really do compete with domestic products, and if they do whether the tariff is a suitable device for regulating the competition.

What, after all, is competition? Congress has seemed to act on the general supposition that if foreign and domestic goods have the same general name, or if they can be used for the same purpose, there is competition between them. In a sense this is true. No one can challenge your veracity if you want to say that imported coffee competes with postum, that bananas compete with cherries, ox carts with motor trucks, or Hunyadi water with catnip tea. This is true in a sense, but not in common sense. It is true only to the extent that if we do not get one of these articles we may be compelled to buy the other as a substitute. But our choice of the substitute depends only in part on the relative *usefulness* of the goods, it depends in fully equal degree on the relative *price*.

#### *What Does Congress Know about Prices?*

Here, then, is another great gap in our tariff information. Congress has not known enough about the normal prices of foreign and domestic goods to adjust duties as they should be. During the debates two years ago there were exhibits on the floor of both houses of Congress purporting to show that foreign articles could be bought at such low prices that importers made profits running sometimes over 1000 per cent. when they sold the articles in this country. In some instances, however, the importers emphatically denied that they got the articles at the prices stated, in other instances it was asserted that the prices were utterly abnormal, and it was maintained by the opposition that if such profits were possible every able-bodied citizen of the United States would long since have become an importer. The only thing that the exhibits conclusively proved was how little was actually known about the normal price of foreign goods.

The lack of knowledge about prices is not surprising. Hard as it is to compare the usefulness of foreign and domestic goods,

it is much harder to compare their price. Prices change with swiftness and violence. They vary from place to place and even more from season to season. They vary with the amount of the commodity involved in a sale, with the time fixed for payment, with the credit of the purchaser, with other conditions too numerous to mention. The seemingly wild and unaccountable variations confuse our thinking about price, and create an impression that it is too unstable an element to serve as a basis for legislation of any sort. Building a tariff on prices seems about as sensible as building a bowling alley on the open sea.

#### *Is There a Price Level?*

And yet there is such a thing as a sea level, and in the same manner there is such a thing as a price level. We measure the altitude of mountains from the sea level, and we should measure the altitude of duties from the price level. But let the analogy end there; we would not carry further the suggestion of mountainous duties! It is this level which we have in mind in speaking of "normal" price. Current prices are sometimes above it and sometimes below it, but they tend always to return to it, and in the long run the high and low fluctuations about balance each other. It is, then, the "normal" prices of foreign and domestic goods which Congress needs to know when fixing duties.

Thus if rice straw rugs of a certain size normally sell in Japan for three dollars, and if it takes three such rugs to give the same service as one American rug normally selling for fifteen dollars, then a duty of two dollars each on the Japanese rugs would enable the foreign and domestic producers to compete on equal terms. At times the Japanese price will be below the normal and at such times imports of rugs are to be expected. But if the duty is fixed high enough to make imports unprofitable even when foreign prices are abnormally low, then the tariff obviously becomes the Chinese Wall which even high protectionists profess to disapprove.

#### *What Results from Not Knowing Prices of Imports?*

And now think for a moment what serious results follow from not knowing what prices are normal for imported goods. Protectionist members of Congress, even when they sincerely wish to give domestic

industries no more than an even chance to compete, yet aim to make very certain that they do get that chance. Therefore, when they find that there are or have recently been substantial imports of any article and that the current foreign price of it happens to be lower than the American price by more than the amount of the existing duty, they raise the duty till it fully covers any probable price difference. In doing so, of course, they practically shut out imports of the article altogether, unless it happens to be something for which no domestic substitute can be procured on reasonable terms. The domestic producers, who quite naturally charge for their products as much as they can get in the market, when they are secured by the higher duty against the competition of imported goods raise their prices. Thereupon the consumers, now shut off from foreign supplies and confronted by higher domestic prices, raise a mighty clamor about the "robber" tariff, and the "tariff barons," the grasping monopolies and government by "the interests." Much to its own surprise, sometimes Congress finds out later on that it has over-shot the mark.

Equally unintended consequences have been known to attend a "revenue" tariff. The framers of it, having little knowledge of normal prices and observing that imports are small under existing duties, have taken chances in cutting down the tariff. It is true that they have not ventured often and have not ventured far. The Wilson-Gorman tariff of 1894 is said to have reduced duties on an average by not more than 3 or 4 per cent. The only other "low" tariff since the Civil War, the Underwood-Simmons Act of 1913, was not really tested in operation, for it was in force only a few months before the outbreak of war in Europe. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence that the duty on sugar, for example, was in that tariff law cut below the "competitive point," at least for the Louisiana producers.

Enough has been said to show that it is impossible to make a tariff that will carry out any policy which has been authorized at the polls unless more is known about the nature and about the normal price of goods imported to this country. This is by no means all we need to know about imports, but at least it serves to illustrate how entirely inadequate our information about them has been in the past.

### *Some Industries Should Not Receive Tariff Aid*

Unfortunately the gaps that yawn in our information about domestic industries are equally impassable. Surprising as it may seem, we frequently do not know whether an industry needs the aid of the tariff or not to compete on equal terms with foreign industries. More surprising still, we seldom even consider, much less know, whether an industry is *fit* to receive aid from the tariff.

Let us think about this matter of fitness first. We talk smugly about giving an even chance to every efficient producer in our country, about maintaining the high standard of wages of all industrious laborers until we hypnotize ourselves with general phrases. But do we mean it? We do not! The proudest boast of those who framed the existing tariff is that it is "All-American," implying that it aims to equalize the difference between foreign and domestic costs for all branches of productive industry. But the tariff does not do this and was never intended to do it. If it had been so intended, why was not the duty raised to cover the cost of producing Turkish tobacco in California? Why were potash and long-staple cotton and cattle hides and a number of other products of American industry put on the free list in spite of clear proof that it cost much more to produce them here than abroad? The answer is easy: Congress believed that aiding these industries to meet foreign competition would work more harm than good. We all agree that *some* industries ought not to receive aid from the tariff, but we are in wide disagreement as to *which* industries these are. About many of them we do not know enough to reach a conclusion except by guess or by prejudice. Let us note some of the circumstances under which industries should not be aided.

Sometimes conservation of domestic resources is more important than aid to industries that would use up our limited supply of materials. Perhaps that is why Congress put oil and lumber on the free list of the existing tariff. The same consideration would probably apply to tungsten or to high-grade manganese ore, but Congress had conflicting testimony as to the extent of our deposits, and so either by guess or through importunity they were made dutiable. Sometimes an industry diverts labor and capital into a field where



the natural obstacles are too great to be overcome at a reasonable cost. That explains why no duty was put on potash. But how about the natural obstacles to shipping fresh cherries from Oregon to Cincinnati or the Atlantic Coast? How about the natural obstacles to wool-growing in the range States where cheap grazing is giving place to tillage? Or how about the manufacture of high-grade ferro-silicon with our costly electric power? The different treatment meted out to these industries shows the need for substituting accurate information for the conflicting claims of interested parties.

#### *The Question of Labor Conditions*

We may add also those industries that are not profitable without a supply of poorly paid labor that is not fit for incorporation in our citizenship. Such industries are sometimes easy to recognize, as, for example, the production of raw silk. In regard to others the matter is not so clear. There was much debate in Congress two years ago about labor conditions in the sugar-beet fields. It was established that the employment of mothers and young children was not uncommon, and that there was wide use of imported Mexican labor even as far north as Iowa. But whether or not these abuses were prevalent enough to be a serious economic and social threat, Congress lacked sufficient information to determine. When the facts are unknown about a simple open-air industry such as beet cultivation, it need not surprise us that labor conditions in many of our urban industries are distressingly obscure.

#### *The Tariff and the Trusts*

No one would dissent from the opinion that another group of industries which are unfit for tariff aid are those that through agreement or unfair manipulation keep prices above the normal level. Indeed, the strongest opposition to high duties has come from the people who agreed with Mr. Carnegie that "the tariff is the mother of trusts." But what industries have been guilty of this practice? Congress has not known. The public has been suspicious of every industry that has attained great size. The American Woolen Company, the U. S. Steel Corporation, the DuPont Company, the Aluminum Company of America and many others have been bitterly attacked for "price-fixing." Far be it from us to justify

the attacks. But whether right or wrong in these or any particular instances that might be mentioned, it is at least frequently possible for the leading producers in an industry to increase their profits by suppressing competition among themselves. The organization, management, practices and control of industries, therefore, require careful study before determining whether they are fit to receive aid against the foreign competition which might be a wholesome check on their methods of exploitation.

#### *Facts Must Be Gathered*

It would prolong this article unmercifully if we were to enumerate all the different kinds of information that Congress ought to have, and has never had, for tariff-making. But enough has been said to show that there is only one hope of our ever giving any stability to our tariff policy and of calming the indignation that has always followed new tariff legislation. That hope depends on finding some means to furnish to Congress and to the country the information which is needed for determining what duties ought to be levied and how high they ought to be.

Even this hope is not as bright as we should like to represent it if we could truthfully do so. For it is one thing to furnish information and quite another thing to get men to use it. Members of Congress may well stand appalled at the enormous amount and the technical nature of the information that is necessary. At the same time, admitting the difficulty of coping with the enormous mass of facts involved is no argument for ignoring them. On the contrary, it is the strongest possible argument for devising some practicable means of gathering and presenting them in such a manner as will make it easier to understand them.

#### *Individual Judgment Decides, in the Last Analysis*

Even more disconcerting is the uncertain meaning of information about the tariff, even after we have got it. There are two sides to the question whether the duty on a commodity should be high or low—or, indeed, whether there should be any duty at all—and not all the facts when we know them are found to be on the same side. Which group of facts outweighs the other cannot be determined by any sort of

scientific measurement; it is a matter to be determined by individual judgment. But different individuals seldom agree in their judgment of the weight to be attributed to evidence of any sort. Divided opinion is frequent even in the Supreme Court where identically the same evidence lies before men who are specially trained in weighing it and who are bound by oath, precedent, temperament and moral compulsion to weigh it without prejudice or partiality. How much more certain it is that opinion will be divided when the facts to be weighed go before Congress and ultimately before the public where impartial consideration of evidence on this particular subject is specially hampered by selfish interests, party strategy, visionary theories, deep rooted prejudices and traditions as well as by the mental indolence and imperfect faculties for clear thinking displayed by some members of all large groups!

#### *Reasons for a Tariff Commission*

Accordingly, there is no such thing as a "scientific" tariff in the sense that the effect of duties can be exactly measured or precisely foreseen. But this does not mean that information about the tariff is useless. Although uncertainty in regard to its meaning cannot be wholly removed, it can be reduced by applying the same principles that are followed in the judicial interpretation of evidence by an upright court. The information needed for making the tariff, therefore, involves not merely getting the essential facts but also showing what they mean.

The quantity and the uncertain meaning of the information needed explains why Congress has never had it in sufficient amount. The necessary investigations are long, broad in scope, and demand practical experience and technical training, as well as freedom from political and party bias. It is utterly impossible for them to be conducted by a Congressional committee in the time usually assigned for completing a tariff revision. If trustworthy information is to be ready when needed it must be procured by a permanent agency, independent of other establishments of the Government, adequately provided with legal powers and financial support, and devoting its attention, continuously and exclusively to this particular work. In other words, a properly qualified tariff commission is indispensable for tariff reform.

For their work to be effective the members of a tariff commission must have the confidence of Congress and the country regardless of party and of business interest. Appointment by the President, therefore, and confirmation by the Senate must be made with the same care that is commonly used in selecting the occupants of judicial and purely scientific offices under the Government. The existing tariff commission has labored under a serious disadvantage caused by the widespread belief that neither President Wilson nor President Harding was free from bias in making appointments to it. A better understanding of the importance of the commission's work justifies the hope that future appointments will be free from any criticism of political motive.

#### *Commission Must Explain Tariff Facts*

The limited success of past experience shows that if reform is to come through the agency of a tariff commission its work must be different from that required by existing law. Putting aside all formulas for tariff-making and all attempts to show what duties would be if they were measured by some sort of mechanical standard, the commission must attempt to show what duties would be if they are to promote the national welfare. To accomplish this it will not be enough merely to lay before Congress the facts that are relevant to the tariff, however fully and accurately those facts may be presented. There were facts enough in the former reports of the Tariff Board and the Tariff Commission to show, if they had been understood, that in the Acts of 1913 and 1922 duties levied on many commodities could have been better adjusted by the lawmakers to serve the interest of the country.

In the future as in the past it will be physically impossible for either members of Congress or private citizens to struggle through the many thousands of pages covered by a commission's reports and in the time available for a tariff revision to reach by personal study independent conclusions as to the need for duties and the effects of them. The need and effects, therefore, must be explained by the tariff commission in such manner that they may be readily comprehended. But in doing this work of interpretation the commission must avoid the appearance as well as the reality of prejudice and partisan bias.

*Non-Partisanship Required*

The need for a duty, however, will depend on the purpose for which it is levied. If revenue is the object of the tariff one system of rates will be needed; and if protection is the object, quite a different system. The commission, therefore, could not say what duty is needed on any commodity unless it assumed that a certain definite policy was to be put into effect. But what policy may the commission assume? The commission cannot itself lay down the policy to be followed. Neither can it display a preference for the policy of either of the great national parties without forfeiting public confidence in the truth and fairness of its work. It must find some way to show what the rates of duty ought to be without taking sides in the controversy that still divides the country.

*Duties Designed to Preserve Equality of Opportunity*

There is one purpose to be observed in fixing rates, however, on which for some twenty years the professions of both parties have been in agreement. This purpose is to preserve for foreign and domestic producers equal opportunity to compete in the American market. The Democratic party approves it on the grounds that with equal opportunity foreign producers would export some commodities to the United States from which revenue might be collected and that with equal opportunity efficient domestic industries would not be destroyed to the detriment of the general welfare. The Republican party approves it on the grounds that with equal opportunity domestic producers will be able through efficient management to maintain their industries and that they will be restrained by potential foreign competition from exploiting the public through abnormal prices. The practice of neither party, it is true, has been consistent with its professions. Consistency, indeed, was out of the question when the rates that would ensure equal opportunity were unknown.

If, then, the commission should designate the rates which would preserve this equality of opportunity it would be free from the suspicion of partisan bias. But is not this merely another quack nostrum for tariff making? Would a system of duties to "equalize" opportunities to compete be more fit for general application than a

system to "equalize" costs of production. Undoubtedly it would not. Duties would be absurd which would enable domestic producers of tea, potash, Turkish tobacco, asbestos, very fine-spun cotton yarns and hundreds of other commodities to compete on equal terms with foreign producers. The formula for a tariff to "equalize" opportunity would be no more fit for practical application than the formula for "equalizing" costs of production. Why designate such rates if it is not intended that they should be put into the tariff?

There are several reasons for requiring the tariff commission to name them. It is these rates which serve as a necessary point of departure for calculating those other rates which would carry out the particular purpose for which a duty is imposed on any commodity. When estimating what duty would be most expedient either for revenue or for protection Congress must begin, either advertently or otherwise, by assuming some definite duty which would make the normal prices of imported and domestic goods equal in the American market. In designating the rates which would do this the commission would furnish the indispensable basis on which Congress can make the tariff.

*Commission Should Present Conclusions*

Furthermore, the commission should be compelled to arrange the materials it presents and to explain the relative merits and advantages of competing industries in such a manner as to make possible a reasonable deduction of their meaning. There is no better way of exercising this compulsion than by requiring the commission itself to state in the definite form of the rates here suggested the conclusions to be drawn from its investigations. It may be added, also, that the agency which makes the investigations is better qualified than any other to draw the right conclusions from them. The futility of previous reports shows that Congress has neither time nor inclination to reach independent conclusions, but it will be able to check the validity of those presented by the commission in the light of the accompanying evidence.

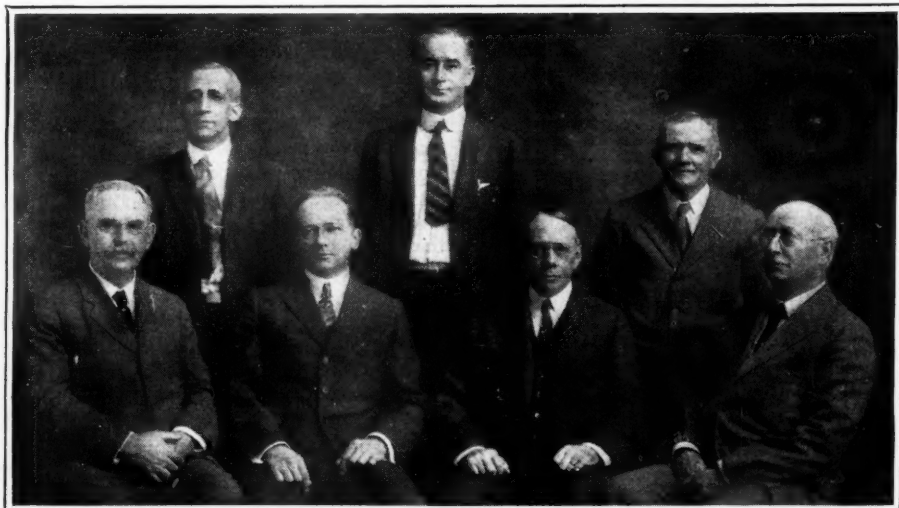
Granting the desirability of knowing these rates, however, is it possible to ascertain them? It would be folly to pretend that any human agency could do so with accuracy. But there are many indications derived from different aspects of trade

and industry which when taken together permit a close approximation to the rate sought. The conditions which determine ability to compete—and the cost of production is only one among many—are not subject to appraisal by exact measurement. An estimate of their worth is a matter of judgment. But the estimate will approach accuracy if the conditions are fairly disclosed and if the judgment is intelligent and impartial. There is no way of evading a reliance on common sense and good judgment. When the rates are named by the tariff commission, however, the correctness of its judgment will be subjected to testing because the grounds for it must be set forth. Congress, on the other hand, if no rates are named, will be free to assume any rates.

After designating these basic rates the most important part of the commission's work would still remain to be done. It consists in explaining what effects are to be expected from fixing the duty on any commodity at a rate higher or lower than that which has been designated. That is what Congress most needs to know. That also is what the country needs to know in order that public opinion may overcome the influence of special interests. When the diverse effects of raising or lowering a rate are clearly explained, some will be regarded as beneficial, others as unduly burdensome. Some will be direct and immediate, others

will be remote but no less substantial. Duties levied for the sake of revenue are sometimes attended by consequences that far outweigh any benefit received by the Treasury. Protective duties sometimes divert enterprise from pursuits that are conducive to the public welfare into branches of industry that should not be encouraged. The ulterior effect of the tariff on the country's internal development, on the course of foreign trade, on the habits of consumers, on international relations is a composite of the effects of individual duties. To fix a duty for revenue, therefore, or for protection with no consideration of the wider reaching consequences, is to reduce the making of tariffs to something little better than a gamble with the country's vital interests as the stakes.

This, then, is the kind of work that a tariff commission should be required to do. Granting that no commission, and indeed no other human agency, can provide all the information which is needed, that it is impossible therefore to construct a "scientific" tariff, that owing to the diverse effects of duties the tariff can never be "taken out of politics," yet these conclusions may be accepted: that this method of making the tariff would accomplish results better than any hitherto attained and that it is the only method which holds out the hope of any reform at all.



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**THE TARIFF COMMISSION, WHEN THE AUTHOR OF THE PRECEDING ARTICLE WAS A MEMBER**

(Seated, from left to right in this group, are: William Burgess, William S. Culbertson, vice-chairman; Thomas O. Marvin, chairman, and Thomas Walker Page. Standing, from left to right, are: Edward P. Costigan, John F. Bethune, secretary, and David J. Lewis. Mr. Page retired from the Commission late in 1922, and was succeeded by Henry H. Glassie)



# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## Shall We Commit Suicide?

A STARTLING arraignment of modern war by the Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill appears in *Nash's Pall Mall Magazine* (London) for September 24. Writing from full and accurate knowledge gained as First Lord of the Admiralty during the Great War, Mr. Churchill describes the successive stages through which the human race has moved in the development of methods of strife and means of destruction, from the beginning of recorded history to the present time. The lesson of his narrative is that the more complex our civilization has become, the more effective and powerful have grown the instruments of war.

After the dawn of the twentieth century, says Mr. Churchill, war really began to enter into its kingdom as a potential destroyer of the human race. Great states and empires had been organized; nations had arisen to full collective consciousness which "enabled enterprises of slaughter to be planned and executed upon a scale and with a perseverance never before imagined." In the Great War many novel features presented themselves.

Instead of merely starving fortified towns, whole nations were methodically subjected, or sought to be subjected, to the process of reduction by famine. The entire population in one capacity or another took part in the War; all were equally the object of attack. The air opened paths along which death and terror could be carried far behind the lines of the actual armies, to women, children, the aged, the sick, who in earlier struggles would perforce have been left untouched. Marvelous organization of railroads, steamships, and motor vehicles placed and maintained tens of millions of men continuously in action. Healing and surgery in their exquisite developments returned them again and again to the shambles. Nothing was wasted that could contribute to the process of waste. The last dying kick was brought into military utility.

All this, however, according to Mr. Churchill, was only a prelude to what was planned for the fifth year of the war. The

campaign of the year 1919, says he, would have witnessed an immense accession to the power of destruction. Suppose that the Germans had attempted and succeeded in a retreat to the Rhine. In the summer of 1919 they would have been assaulted with forces and by methods incomparably greater than any yet employed. Airplanes by the thousand would have shattered German cities. It is said that arrangements were being made to carry simultaneously a quarter of a million men, together with all their requirements, continuously forward across country in mechanical vehicles moving ten or fifteen miles a day. Poison gases had been invented which would have stifled all resistance and paralyzed all life on the hostile front subjected to attack. The only thing known to be proof against these gases was a secret mask which the Germans could not have obtained in time. Here Mr. Churchill is disclosing only what was in the possession of the Allies, but it is hardly conceivable that the Germans themselves were without plans of counter-offense.

The Armistice came and the "horrors of 1919 remained buried in the archives of the great antagonists." War officers in every country put aside unfinished projects but all important data, calculations and discoveries were preserved. As Mr. Churchill remarks, the campaign of 1919 was never fought, but its ideas go marching along. Should war come again to the world, it will be fought with developments and extensions of the weapons and agencies prepared for 1919 that will be incomparably more formidable and fatal.

Mr. Churchill notes that the period of exhaustion which has been described as peace, upon which we have entered, gives a good opportunity to consider the general situation. He takes it as fully established that henceforward whole populations will take part in war, all doing their utmost, all

subjected to the fury of the enemy. Nations believing that their life is at stake, will not be restrained from using any means to secure their existence. Mankind is in this position for the first time. "Without having improved appreciably in virtue or enjoying wiser guidance, it has got into its hands for the first time the tools by which it can unfailingly accomplish its own extermination."

As to the possibility of another explosion in Europe, Mr. Churchill declares that the causes of war have been in no way removed. "Indeed they are in some respects aggravated by the so-called Peace Treaty and the reactions following thereupon." This is seen especially in Germany, France and Russia.

One shudders at the suggestions of new discoveries to promote the destruction of whole peoples. A study of disease—of pestilences methodically prepared and deliberately launched upon man and beast—is certainly being pursued, according to Mr. Churchill in the laboratories of more than one great country. "Blight to destroy crops, anthrax to slay horses and cattle, plague to poison not armies only but whole districts—such are the lines along which

military science is remorselessly advancing."

From all this Mr. Churchill deduces that whereas an equally contested war under such conditions might work the ruin of the world and cause an immeasurable diminution of the human race, the possession by one side of some overwhelming scientific advantage would lead to the complete enslavement of the unwary party. In other words not only may the life of nations be destroyed by the powers now in the hand of man, but for the first time they afford to one group of civilized men the opportunity of making their opponents utterly helpless.

Against this horrible threat Mr. Churchill seems to find only one human institution to which the world may turn with any hope of refuge. The League of Nations "raises feebly but faithfully its standards of sanity and hope." While he does not believe that the present structure of the League can guard the world from its dangers or protect mankind from itself, he sees no other way to safety and salvation. The League must be reinforced and brought into vital relation with actual world politics by sincere agreements and understanding among the Great Powers and among the leading races. This, he believes, is the duty of the hour.

## Congress and the Presidency

ALMOST from the beginning of the present campaign an extraordinary amount of space in American newspapers and periodicals has been devoted to discussion of the possibility of election or deadlock in Congress resulting from the failure of the Electoral College to choose a President. Thus in the current issue of the *North American Review* Colonel George Harvey, the editor, makes his opening article turn on the question whether enough electoral votes can be obtained for Mr. Coolidge to keep the election out of the House of Representatives.

What would be the result, he asks, if the election were to take place *next week* (this was written during the summer)? Colonel Harvey answers his own question in this fashion:

Neither Mr. Davis nor Mr. LaFollette could be expected to win. Assuming that Mr. Davis's minimum of 130 electoral votes from the South were increased by 8 from West Virginia, 3 from Delaware, 8 from Maryland, 18 from Missouri, 8 from Nebraska, 3 from Nevada, 10 from Oklahoma, 15 from Indiana, 24 from Ohio and 13 from California—an incredible supposition—he would still lack a majority.

Mr. LaFollette, whose highest hope is to reach second place, admittedly would have no chance of attaining to first.

The only question is, could Mr. Coolidge obtain a clear majority over the two combined? Let us see. Conceding to him, as one might do safely at the present time, New England, the Middle States, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Utah and Oregon, he would secure 218 electoral votes. He would require, for a majority, 48 additional from the following aggregation of States:

|                        |    |                      |    |
|------------------------|----|----------------------|----|
| Wisconsin . . . . .    | 13 | Montana . . . . .    | 4  |
| Minnesota . . . . .    | 12 | Wyoming . . . . .    | 3  |
| Iowa . . . . .         | 13 | Colorado . . . . .   | 6  |
| Missouri . . . . .     | 18 | New Mexico . . . . . | 3  |
| North Dakota . . . . . | 5  | Idaho . . . . .      | 4  |
| South Dakota . . . . . | 5  | Arizona . . . . .    | 3  |
| Nebraska . . . . .     | 8  | Washington . . . . . | 7  |
| Kansas . . . . .       | 10 | California . . . . . | 13 |
| Oklahoma . . . . .     | 10 |                      |    |

At the time of writing Colonel Harvey doubted seriously whether Mr. Coolidge could obtain forty-eight votes from the group of States named. He goes on to say:

In any case, whether our misgiving be correct or not, one fact stands forth as clear as the noonday sun. This campaign has resolved into a contest, not between the Republican party and the Democratic

party, not between Coolidge and Davis, but between Coolidge and No Election.

That is the sole practical issue. A vote for Coolidge would be a vote for a President to be elected by the people. A vote for either Davis or LaFollette would be (1) a vote for a President to be selected by a House of Representatives chosen two years ago; or (2) for a President to be designated first as Vice-President by a Senate, of whose members thirty-two were elected six years ago; or (3) by a Secretary of State, for whom not a single vote for President would have been cast. Which of these three would actually be installed in the White House, in the event of no election, is a problem which finds no solution in precedent and none that is clear in the Constitution and statutes.

#### Why Should the People Abdicate?

This, of course, is a frankly partisan opinion of the situation from which a member of either of the opposing parties is free to dissent. A different approach to the problem is made by Dr. Joseph Schafer, of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, whose reflections on the matter have been printed under the title "Will the People Abdicate Again?"

Dr. Schafer reviews the only two instances in our history of no choice by Presidential electors. In both cases Congress elected by majority vote—first, in 1800, before the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment, and again one hundred years ago, after the election of 1824.

It will be recalled that the House which gave the country its President was not chosen in 1824, but had been chosen two years earlier. In the ballot the delegations from many of the States were split into majority and minority factions, some individuals favoring one candidate, some another. Adams received majorities in thirteen States, Jackson in seven, Crawford in four. On a count of heads Adams had the support of 87 individual members, Jackson of 71, Crawford of 54.

There is no sure way of computing the popular vote given to the several candidates, for in seven States, including the great State of New York, the old, undemocratic custom still prevailed of letting the legislature appoint the Presidential Electors. Nevertheless, it is clear from such computations as have been made, that Jackson's popular vote exceeded Adams's popular vote by nearly 40,000. Crawford and Clay each was able to muster less than one-third of the Jackson total. So, thanks to a constitutional mechanism which was originally designed to placate State pride rather than to secure the rights of the people as voters, it transpired that the candidate who, in a field of four, received 34½ per cent. of the electoral vote and polled over 42 per cent. of the total popular vote was set aside for one who received 31 per cent. of the electoral vote and considerably less than one-third of the popular vote. And this result was finally achieved by a plurality for Adams of sixteen members of a House elected two years before, as against a plurality for Jackson of fifteen Electors chosen by the people that very year on the issues and the personalities of the campaign.

On the election of Adams by the House, and the apparent injustice involved therein, Dr. Schafer quotes from the historian, James Schouler:

"For the grave constitutional function now to be exercised, candor must say that Congress prepared with as little of real gravity as of scrupulous regard for the people's wish, thus affording a fresh proof of what experience in State elections has since strongly established—that it is better, far better, to make a plurality choice by the people, after the usual mode of suffrage, at once decisive, rather than call in any umpire at all, or even keep the public mind uneasy by holding another poll. And of all umpires of the kind, a legislature or either of its branches, elected years earlier and about to expire, is least to be trusted."

Four years later the partisans of Jackson made their resentment known, as Dr. Schafer points out, by turning out their betrayers and giving Jackson such an unhampered lease of power as has come to few American Presidents. Dr. Schafer outlines some of the unpleasant results of the action of Congress following the election of 1824:

The high-minded John Quincy Adams, reprobated as a corrupt politician, his administration virtually wrecked for want of popular support; Clay, the gallant Kentuckian, man of proud and sensitive honor, earning in the estimation of millions of his countrymen Jackson's terrible imputation of the "Judas of the West"; lesser public men hounded to their graves as liars, and calumniators of the great; the masses of the people impregnated with a corroding suspicion as respects those in authority and an active ill-will toward many deserving men—these were some of the fruits of the House election in 1825, and had it not been for the psychologically fortunate "reign of Andrew Jackson," which electrically "cleared the air," the results might have been permanently degrading to American political life.

We now come to the question, why is it necessary that an election by the House should be attended by such scandals? Under this head Dr. Schafer says:

It is almost certain that in 1825 any one of three men might have turned the election to Jackson, whom doubtless a majority of the people preferred since so many more voted for him than for any of the others. Clay, who won the election for Adams and then was made Secretary of State, could as easily have insured the election of Jackson, whether with results equally gratifying to himself can not be known. Probably the whole-hearted support of Jackson by Crawford's friends, if given on the principle that the candidate having a plurality both of the electoral vote and of the popular vote ought to be named by Congress, could have swung the requisite number of States to the Tennesseean. Certainly Adams, with his control of the New England States, could have settled the question out of hand. With the possible exception of Clay, each of these three sought his individual advantage.

One hundred years ago it was hard to ascertain the popular vote, but this difficulty has been removed. At the present time it is suggested by Dr. Schafer that a plan embodying the principle employed by the people of Oregon several years before the adoption of the amendment for the election of United States Senators by popular vote might be adopted. At that time members of the Oregon Legislature, of course, had the duty of choosing a United States Senator. Candidates for the Legislature were permitted under the State law to file before the primary a statement promising the voters that if elected they would vote on every ballot for that candidate for the United States Senatorship, irrespective of party, who at the general election preceding should receive the largest number of votes.

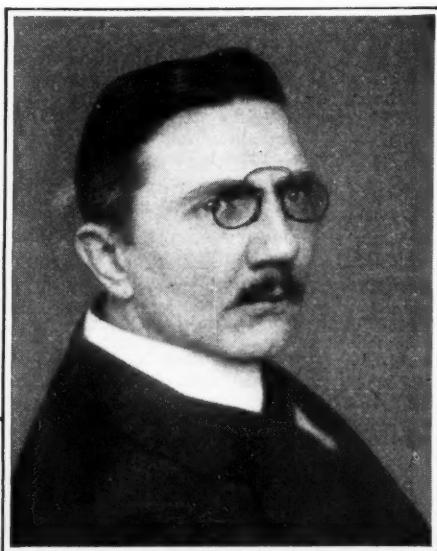
Dr. Schafer would have the "plurality principle" applied in the choice of the President by Congress, just as it was employed by the Oregon Legislature in the choice of a United States Senator.

In the case before us, the probable election of a President by the United States House of Representatives, all that would be necessary to dissuade the House from violating the plurality principle, should it be tempted to do so, would be for the people in the congressional districts to make it quite clear to the present members of Congress, so large a proportion of whom will be up for reelection, that they will be expected to adhere to that principle if the election of President comes before the House.

At this late day, when the plurality principle is so universally employed in the States and so highly respected as a practical means of settling election contests, it would be sheer reactionism to permit the House of Representatives to fall back upon an older and cruder method of solving an inherently simple electoral problem. Yet, it is impossible to predict what party pressures, what aroused passions of envy or hatred, or what personal manipulations may supervene to cause members of the House to swerve from the path of duty.

The people, by taking control of the Electoral College, actually, though somewhat roughly, dictated the election of President twenty-nine times in one hundred and twenty-four years. Twice, through their own default, they allowed it to be decided by that "worst of all" umpires, the House of Representatives. If the lesson of history can be brought home to them, they will not risk a third experiment in abdicating their electoral power and rights.

## The Rentenmark and Its Sponsor



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DR. HJALMAR SCHACHT

(The German banker who became Currency Commissioner a year ago and in that office contributed more largely than any one else to Germany's financial recovery. He was later made president of the Reichsbank)

A YEAR ago the downward rush of the German paper mark was at its lowest point. Four million million of them were worth a dollar. Two events occurred then, with little relation to each other at the time but with the combined result of checking the nation's financial collapse and restoring sanity. One was the creation of the *rentenmark*, the other was the appointment of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht as Currency Commissioner. Both topics are discussed informally by Mr. Isaac F. Marcosson in a recent issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*. The author had been in Germany in 1923 and again last summer, and knows whereof he speaks.

The *rentenmark*, Mr. Marcosson reminds us, was invented by the German Government in October, 1923. The word *rente* means "income" or "revenue." Along with the new currency came a new bank, the Rentenbank, with a capital of 3,200,000,000 *rentenmarks* covered by a mortgage up to 4 per cent. on all landed and industrial property. In exchange for the mortgage, property owners were to receive evidence of indebtedness called a *Rentenbriefe*, purchas-



able with marks and bearing interest at 5 per cent.

So much for the scheme itself. Mr. Marcossou tells us that for weeks it continued to be merely a scheme, and that the printing presses kept on grinding out paper marks.

Then occurred the second feature in Germany's financial regeneration. On November 13 Dr. Schacht, a more or less obscure banker, was appointed Currency Commissioner. Two days later the printing presses were stopped and the new rentenmark was put in circulation. "Despite all the high-sounding talk of security of a mortgage on all German property," our American investigator declares, "there was really nothing behind the rentenmark except the iron determination of the Currency Commissioner to make it a stable medium of exchange." There began a curious conflict between Currency Commissioner and speculators, but in five days the strategy of Dr. Schacht was such that one rentenmark was accepted for 1,000,000,000,000 paper marks! Once more things began to be priced at 1, 2, 5 or 10 marks, instead of thousands of millions. Sanity was restored, deflation started, and Germany was placed in a position where a Dawes plan could be offered and accepted.

Schacht, the man responsible for all this, is characterized by Mr. Marcossou as alert, dynamic, and possessed of more "pep" than any of his financial contemporaries. "His conversation, like his personality, is aggressive. He holds rank, tradition, and

precedent in contempt." He is known as Hjalmar Schacht, but his father named him Horace Greeley Hjalmar Schacht. The father was a Dane who had left Schleswig-Holstein after Germany's annexation and had emigrated to America, in 1870. He remained here only six years, when he accepted an opportunity to represent one of our life-insurance companies in Germany. But the elder Schacht was an American long enough to name his son, born in 1877, for the famous editor and political crusader.

Mr. Marcossou interviewed Dr. Schacht, in the office of the Reichsbank—to the presidency of which the successful Currency Commissioner was appointed upon the death of Havenstein. "What I have tried to do," the German financial wizard said, "has been to make German money scarce and valuable." He admitted that he was author of a credit famine and a cash scarcity. But through temporary hardship deflation was secured and the decks were cleared for a permanent and constructive future, while the policy of credit restriction has brought out hidden reserves of capital that are now doing their proper work for their country.

The rentenmark is characterized by Dr. Schacht as merely a bridge between chaos and "the new deal which will come to Germany through the international loan which the Dawes plan provides." Once in operation, he adds, the Dawes plan means that Germany will resume her old place as a constructive force in the economic affairs of the world.

## Medico-Historical Museums

IN THE last number of the *Nordisk Tidskrift* (Stockholm), Doctor Ernst Nachmanson, a prominent scientist of Sweden, writes very interestingly on museums and other collections of medical and pharmaceutical instruments and equipment from times past, brought together in some of the old cities of the European countries.

Universities that still retain "History of Medical Science" as a part of their regular curriculum offer the logical home for such collections, but in places where that particular branch of the discipline has been dropped the collections, when not scattered, have found refuge in public or private museums or in temporary repositories.

To the student of the history and de-

velopment of medical science, institutions of that kind are all but indispensable, and to the general public they have proved extremely interesting, inasmuch as they give, as a rule, a very comprehensive illustration of the means and methods employed by mankind, from earliest ages up to the present time, in the battle waged upon disease and death. In this connection it might be pointed out that, with an advancing civilization, the means for the *prevention* of disease have received an ever-increasing attention. This feature of the exhibitions is of a great significance, the instructive value of which can not be over-rated.

England, France, Holland, Germany, and

many other countries have their Medico-Historical Museums established long ago.

Those of Amsterdam and of Leipzig are probably the most complete in their kind—containing series of units, each representing some special phase of the development of medical science. In one room, for instance, we find ourselves in an exact replica of an apothecary shop from the seventeenth century; in another we enter the waiting-room and office of a physician from the same time, and so on.

The sections that invariably attract most public attention are those devoted to surgery. The layman, naturally, is interested in almost anything that is quaint and old, and out of the ordinary run, and he will look at the old bone saws and gimlets and whatnots with something like a respectful curiosity. To the modern surgeon, however, those simple and crude instruments speak their own appalling language. Remembering that etherization was invented as late as 1846 (Jackson and Morris, America), and that chloroform (Simpson, Edinburgh) is of a still later date, the surgeon alone can fully realize what an operation in the pre-anaesthetic days meant to the patient, and what difficulties the phy-

sician had to overcome. Not infrequently an operation was interrupted, and the operator had to fight for his own life against an infuriated patient driven crazy with pain and agony.

No less remarkable is the progress in the treatment of the insane. The collections of the instruments of torture (for they were nothing else) from the hospitals of the past centuries furnish an object lesson of inestimable value; possibly there might even yet be room for improvement.

In addition to the more spectacular side of their function, the Medico-Historical Museums fill another great cultural mission. They are safe-keepers and preservers for future generations, of chronicles and documents recording the methods and practices of the medical profession of days long past. The instruments were crude, and so were the methods, but the results obtained, nevertheless, in many cases, were wonderful.

Doctor Nachmansson's article is an appeal, especially to the Swedish nation, in behalf of the recently established Medico-Historical Museum of Stockholm, but, in principle, it appeals to every nation of the world, that is concerned in the progress of civilization and in the welfare of humanity.

## The British Labor Government in Retrospect

SHORTLY before the fall of the MacDonald Ministry its deeds and misdeeds since taking office early in the current year had been reviewed in the British press with more or less completeness. The writers of these retrospects were apparently looking forward with confidence to the fall that has seemed for several months inevitable.

In the *Contemporary Review* (London) for October Captain Wedgwood Benn classes the bulk of the Labor Government's achievement under the heading of radical legislation. This writer declares that such legislation was overdue, was popular and now forms the boast of the apologists for the Government. Yet he says that the most careful scrutiny will fail to find in it any preparation for the Socialist revolution.

There is the improvement in the position of the old age pensioner (the abolition of the thrift disqualification), and the promise of mothers' pensions in the near future. Both of these schemes are in the programs of other parties. The Chancellor's failure

to carry out the full measure of the promise has nothing to do with the minority position, or "office without power." The difficulty is lack of money, and Mr. Snowden has pleaded it as earnestly as any of his predecessors.

There is the outline of a scheme of national electricity supply. But here again Mr. Lloyd George had anticipated the Government, not merely by his "Coal and Power" proposals, but by the earlier plans presented to Parliament by the Coalition, and much mutilated in their passage into law.

Again, the Unemployment Insurance Acts have been enlarged, the gap abolished, and the benefit increased. All parties, not least the Socialists, have expressed their dislike of the "dole," but it is necessary, and without it the country could not have survived the upheaval of the war. It is not Socialism, however. It is merely building upon foundations laid long ago by a Liberal Government and since adapted to the needs of the times by other Administrations. As to rents, one measure alone has been passed, and that was introduced by a Liberal Member. A proposal was made, of which something will be said in a moment when we are discussing the manipulation of the Left, but there has been no achievement at all, though a reasonable amendment of the Rent Restriction Act could easily have been carried.

Of Housing it is too early to say much. A long program has been laid down, though there is no

certainly that it will be carried out. The same obstacles which confronted others faced Mr. Wheatley, and there is no evidence that he has overcome them. His only new contribution has been a scheme for a rent-subsidy to "Government" tenants.

The great success of the session has been, of course, the budget, the reduction of food taxes and the sweeping away of most of the vestiges of wartime protection. For this work the Chancellor deserves whole-hearted congratulation. But here again there is no trace of Socialism and, indeed, in his rigid attitude towards expenditure Mr. Snowden has been a model Chancellor of an old-fashioned Liberal stamp.

Captain Benn notes that the principles underlying radical finance seem unpalatable to the Government's supporters, however much the benefits of it may be acclaimed on Labor platforms. He finds a decided lack of conviction in the matter of protection. It is "quite clear that free trade has no place in the creed of a considerable and influential section of the Government's supporters."

In the field of foreign policy, Liberals, says Captain Benn, generally approve the lines pursued, with one important exception. They applaud the presence of the Prime Minister at the League Assembly and strongly favor his proposals for arbitration and disarmament. The Lausanne Treaty was accepted as unpleasant necessity. The Irish Boundary Question was handled with honor, and in the delicate matter of the Imperial partnership in foreign affairs the Government expressed a desire to follow the Liberal precedents, "despite the clumsy improvisation for Dominion participation in the European conference."

On the subject of the Russian Treaty, Captain Benn says:

When the influence of Moscow is realized and the determined campaign waged with its approval is understood—especially as it is by permeation and minority movements, and not by conflicting organization—it will be seen how vital it was that an agreement should be made with the Bolsheviks. There is nothing definite of any great importance in the documents. They amount to an agreement to agree and set up the machinery of bargaining. This machinery may very well produce proposals to which no British Parliament would consent. It may be that in no circumstances could we lend money to Russia, but all that is to be the subject of further deliberation, and is not secured to the Soviet by the hastily affixed signature of the Prime Minister. The immense importance which was and is attached to the matter by the Labor Party appears really to mean that the agreement is urgently needed by the Union of Soviets, and that, the influence of that Government being behind the extreme Left wing of the Labor party, a failure would precipitate the disruption of the party, which is the ever-present danger.

"How long can unity be preserved?"—that remains the predominating issue. The more persistent the purely partisan attacks, whether Liberal or Tory, on the Government, the more their followers are welded together. The longer they stay in and receive fair play the more difficult their task of keeping the party united. An election would help them. But even an election would not remove the difficulty, for there is no prospect of an independent Labor majority.

That is the puzzle. Unless some party gets an exceptionally lucky dip from our surprising electoral bran-pie there will be no majority Government for some time to come, that is, as things are organized at present. There are some who seek a solution in the ranging together of all other parties against the Labor Government, believing that thus they are fighting Socialism. To those who have studied the real composition of the support the Government receives, this plan appears mistaken and even fantastic. It is more likely that a slightly prolonged period of office will break the artificially united front and that the result may be to give independence to the Communists and bring into being a *Bloc des Gauches* which, representing the true majority views of the electors, might give us a stable government for some years.

## "Sport" In France

IT IS significant that the word *sport*, with many others of kindred signification, has been taken over into the French language as indispensable and untranslatable. From the very frank and illuminating paper by René Besse in the *Mercure de France* for September 1st, on "The Lessons of the Olympic Games," we learn, for instance, the surprising fact that at least 418,000 members are enrolled in French "Football Associations" alone. Yet there is plenty of hot conservative resistance to all such "Anglo-Saxon innovations, harmful and unsuited

to the national character." The possible diversion of youth from direct military training and imperialistic enthusiasm is not the only motive. Two eminent writers are on record in their recent utterances. Leon Bloy says:

I firmly believe that sport is the surest means to produce a generation of weaklings and cretins (deformed idiots of the Alpine type).

One may well query if our millions of doughboys left such a composite portrait behind them! Only less savagely and positively writes Jules Bertaut:

Over the actual participants in the contests, however, the writer waxes enthusiastic. He calls the roll of the great winners as reverently as a secretary taking the attendance at a meeting of the League of Nations.

Those competent to appreciate Nurmi, Myrrha, Weissmuller, Rittola, Wide, Osborne, Le Gendre, Abrahams, Tootell, Arn Borg and their peers, combining in their fulness the physical possibilities of all races, will not soon forget the vision of these mighty and harmonious struggles. It must be realized that in the twenty-eight contests nine previous Olympic and five world records were broken. So both the mere lovers of such competitions and the technical specialists have been fully satisfied.

I am not convinced that sport is a means for producing a healthy and intelligent generation, for I consider that the majority of athletes are imbeciles and that most of them die young. So then?

The recent celebration of the "Eighth Olympiad" in and about Paris, with a far greater number of contests and combatants than ever before, and such special equipment as "the stadium for 60,000 at Colombes and the swimming pool of 12 million cubic metres capacity at Tourelles," seems to have been by no means a wholly successful and adequate propaganda.

That the French won the second honors in the total record of points is recorded with pride—and modesty, as largely due to the naturally greater number of local entries. It is keenly lamented that the French were not placed at all in contests of speed and physical endurance—running, jumping, swimming, etc. One disappointed coach declared that all French swimmers must practice the "crawl" stroke only from this time forth! But the writer defends powerfully the sane thesis that a whole generation of youth, weak and strong alike, should be given systematic, all-round physical training, while success in any competitions, even the international games, must be regarded as a natural but altogether minor result.

The financial outcome appears to have been disastrous. Very high prices were set for all admissions, no concessions being offered to schoolboys and laboring men on their respective free afternoons. Even the state railway lines doubled their normal rates, and all concessionaires appear to have united to kill the golden goose. So the attendance fell far below all estimates. Often the few spectators on the bleachers were outnumbered, and their view sadly obscured

by the host of officials, coaches, cinema men, reporters and other privileged "deadheads" on the side-lines. Naturally, the guarantors suffered heavy loss.

The contests, again, were distributed over a wide area in and outside Paris (Rheims, Chalons, St. Cloud, etc.). Quite often, too, several of the most interesting contests were going simultaneously, at points remote from each other. (This happened, for example, with the swimming, boxing, aviation, and tennis!) The author is emphatic in his declaration that certain recently introduced contests like polo, yachting, with the unseasonable cross-country run and ridiculous "walk," which have little or no relation to general hygiene, should be at once dropped from the list. Indeed it appears that, despite much doubling up of dates, the total time consumed much exceeded not only the desirable limit of two weeks but the maximum of three permitted by the charter under which the games are held.

All these criticisms, deferentially made, are offered for the instruction and warning of Holland in 1928 and the United States in 1932. "It is the traditional usage that we (French) should pull the chestnuts out of the fire!" There is also some allusion to incompetent or even partial judges, and to contestants (nationality not indicated) who openly seized and carried off flags and other decorations as mementoes. "Nevertheless, I shall not go so far as to conclude, with some colleagues, that this institution—or rather, this modern revival—has failed."

The larger discussion on the value of athletics for all, and the proper spirit and aim in the conduct of them, is interesting and wise. Certainly the French visiting professors and other travelers, who remain sufficiently long in the United States, have been most enthusiastic in praise of the physical health, enjoyment of life, and social development of our academic centers in particular, and have contrasted them, often bitterly or wistfully, with the unhealthy solitude and joylessness of their own college days. In general, there seems no doubt that we "Anglo-Saxons" are teaching effectively the need of sounder hygiene, and vigorous outdoor sport, for French schoolboys and students.

There are many indications that the French nation may come to be as sturdy and chivalric an opponent of the Anglo-Saxon on these bloodless fields as in the long-forgotten days of Agincourt or Fontenoy.



## Russian Literature after 1917

**D**URING the years immediately preceding the world war, Russian literature in general showed unmistakable signs of decline, in regard to quantity and quality alike—a decline all the more noticeable in view of the glorious literary achievements of the earlier period.

It is true that many of the old masters, Dostoevski, Turgeniev, Leo Tolstoi, and others, had passed away, but even the survivors from the golden age seemed to have lost some of the qualities that had won for the Russian literature its lofty position of world-wide recognition.

The Swedish magazine, *Ord och Bild* (Stockholm), in a recent issue has a translation from an article on "Russian Literature after 1917," by Ivan Faludi, which suggests some plausible reasons for the period of decadence, and gives an interesting orientation on present currents in the modern Russian literature.

Alexei Tolstoi (a relative of Leo Tolstoi) is mentioned as one of the foremost of present-day Russian writers. In the "Road of Suffering" he has painted a rather depressing picture of conditions prevalent in Russia during the last years before the war. The details may be exaggerated, and we understand that he has chosen his colors from the darkest, and, also, that due allowance must be made for the flight of imagination of the author, but, even then, opportunities for intellectual inspiration were scant indeed in the Russia of those days.

Behold the life of the fairly well-to-do middle classes, the "bourgeoisie" of the large cities—the hordes of uncouth invaders from the rural districts, of little or no education; the priests and impostors, almost as ignorant as the rest—all trying to imitate the life of their alleged superiors, the nobility and the military, which, again, live in the clouds, far above and out of contact with the common herd, in clouds with a silver lining of Russian rubles, come by in some earlier generation, if not stolen in the present corruption rampant, the representatives of the church teaching, if

not preaching, indulgence, and only too ready to participate in all sorts of revelry.

Set this picture in a frame of provocation and espionage, and hang it in the uncertain light of ever-present dread of an impending upheaval of the downtrodden masses of the people. It represents an image, albeit exaggerated, of the Russia of 1914.

It is a wonder, indeed, that seeds for a future crop of esthetic values could be present in the surroundings, and that they could survive, but miracles will happen. The much dreaded revolution evidently supplied the needed fertile soil, and gave

impetus to the growth. Beginning with the very year of the revolution, a number of new writers appeared in the literary field, authors of no mean ability.

Mr. Faludi describes the present situation:

Since the days of Pushkin and Gogol, nothing has given such a healthy impulse to Russian literature as did the revolution of 1917. The new intellectual Russia has almost reached the heights of her earlier glorious days. The known authors have been pushed aside, and a phalanx of new writers are holding the arena. Farmer lads, laborers,

and many others from the obscure strata of the community have come forward to try their hand at the pen. It is only natural that many should fail, but after the necessary weeding-out process, several talented writers have superseded the old school.

First comes the above-mentioned Alexei Tolstoi. His "Misiuka" appeared before the war, and the "Road of Suffering" has brought him to the very front among living Russian authors. In a later novel, "Aelita," he has given, in the popular guise of an adventure story, a psychological study of fine distinction.

Boris Pilnjak, another new arrival, is a revolutionary, not in the choice of motive, but in his manner of treating composition and form. If a painter, he might be called a futurist. His recent books, "The Nude Year" and "Ivan and Marja," are of great psychological value.



ALEXEI TOLSTOI  
(One of the leading Russian writers of to-day)

Mr. Faludi proceeds to enumerate the most prominent of the new authors, and comments upon the fact that the clean-cut revolutionary literature is to be found in the field of lyric poetry. Here Alexander Block, the most promising of all, at the age of forty, from over-work and privations, literally sang himself to an early death. His poems, "The Twelve" and "Skyter," possess a beauty almost classic in form, and unsurpassed since the great Pushkin era. Andrei Bielis is of a kindred spirit.

The most strongly talented and, without a doubt, the most original of the writers for the proletariat is Sergei Jessenjin, a peasant boy, boasting his past lowly position, now affecting silk hat and patent

leathers, patting the nose of the cab horse out of pure sympathy, and tipping his hat to the steer on the butcher's sign. His poems reflect the author, a bizarre blending of the rough yokel with the nervous man of the world.

Kussikov is a stone of similar cut, although of higher polish.

Majakovski, a young dramatic poet, has created a large epic work of great merit, a brilliant symbolization of the new ideals in state and community life.

In conclusion, to the discriminating scholar it is gratifying to notice the general trend of the many, at times opposing, currents in modern Russian literature. It is replete with promises of great inspirational value to the culture of any civilization.

## Doing Business With Russia

ALL over the world business men are interested in the problem of exploiting the vast potential market offered by the country that is still colloquially called "Russia" but is, for official purposes, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. This problem presents features that are absolutely novel, owing to the fact that Russian foreign trade is a state monopoly, and to the further fact that the Soviet officials exhibit a complete and nonchalant disregard for the traditions of the commercial world. Hence a paradoxical state of affairs, an illuminating account of which is presented in a current number of *Commerce Reports* (Washington, D. C.) by Mr. L. J. Lewery, of the U. S. Department of Commerce. Here is an example of the high-handed methods of Russia's new autocrats:

The Soviet Government is able, by a single decree, to remove the whole of Russia's trade from one state to another. This actually happened, following the development of the Russo-German conflict arising out of the German police raid on the premises of the Soviet trade delegation in Berlin, when Russian business was diverted to Holland and Czechoslovakia and so affected Holland's commerce as to alter the figures of her trade balance. The same thing happened after the withdrawal of the Russian trade delegation from Paris, which abruptly transferred all outstanding business to England because of a decision of the French Supreme Court in favor of a Russian-Armenian firm of silk manufacturers, whose stocks had been nationalized by the Soviet authorities, and subsequently sold in France. Likewise, the entire volume of Russia's trade with Switzerland, insignificant though it was, was transferred to Italy and Belgium upon the verdict of the

Swiss courts acquitting the Russian emigrés, who shot and killed the Russian trade delegate for Italy.

The methods of directing the foreign trade are not the same for all countries. In the case of countries that have extended to it diplomatic recognition or entered into trade agreements, the Soviet government maintains trade missions or delegations of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade. In England and Germany these delegations have branches in the principal ports, permanent sample museums and banks.

The present Russian trade with the United States is carried on, not through official Soviet delegations, but through ostensibly private corporations organized under American laws. A number of such corporations have been organized and are now functioning in New York.

There are three foreign concerns, among them one American corporation, enjoying special trading concessions that grant to them for a specified period a certain amount of independence from the Commissariat of Foreign Trade in the import and export of goods; they are subject, however, to existing embargoes and restrictions, to the issue of licenses for each individual shipment, and to certain fixed limits imposed on the total value of their imports into Russia. The basis of the contract is an equal division of profits with the Soviet Government. These are purely private concerns operating at their own risk and subject only to general surveillance by Soviet authorities. They are "Dava-Britopol" (Danzig-Warsaw British-Polish United Stock Co.); "Wostwag" (Western-Eastern Goods Exchange Co., Ltd., Berlin); and "Alamerico" (Allied American Corporation, New York).

In yet another category are the so-called "mixed companies," which consist of Soviet

government institutions on the one side and private foreign interests on the other, exploiting natural resources in Russia, chiefly timber. The controlling interest is always held by the Soviet government.

Other "mixed companies" of similar nature are engaged in purely trading activities. The modus operandi of all such agreements is that the foreign company shall export goods through the Russian company and thereby participate in the profits on sales made in Russia; or, on the contrary, that the foreign company, with some of its personnel attached to the Russian company, shall undertake the purchase of raw materials, which the Russian company in question has been granted a right to export, and shall then participate in the profits accrued from sales made in foreign countries. The principal four purely trading concerns of this type are "Russgertorg" (Russo-German Trading Co.); "Russautorg" (Russo-Austrian Trading Co., Moscow-Vienna); "Ratao" (Russo-Austrian Stock Co.); and "Russot" (Russian Trading Co., Moscow-Berlin-Riga-Reval). There is also a shipping concern, "Derutra" (German Russian Transport Co.), in which American interests participate.

The international agencies of the various Russian coöperative associations, while by no means dissociated from the Soviet Government and although subjected to rigid official control, enjoy a certain amount of administrative freedom. The "Centrosyus" (Central Union of Consumers' Coöperatives) and "Selskossyus" (Central Union of Agricultural Coöperatives) elect the majority of their directors and executive officers, but they



WHEN ZINOVIEV SPEAKS

From Pravda (Moscow, Russia)

(Zinoviev, president of the Leningrad Soviet, and also president of the Third Internationale, by his extremist utterances causes Tchicherin, the Foreign Minister, to assume an expression of despair in this caricature. Zinoviev arraigns capitalism bitterly, but he speaks as a leader of the Communist party and not as a Government official.)

are accountable to the Soviet Government for their capital and operating means, as well as for their general line of policies.

All the other concerns engaged in Russian trade represent the agencies of one or another of the Soviet State institutions. While outwardly, and to all intents and purposes, these institutions function as independent or private corporations, buying and selling goods along customary lines, it must be understood, in order to get a clear-cut idea of the extent of their financial responsibility and the standing of their executive officers, that these concerns are owned and controlled absolutely by the Soviet Government.

## The Economic Life of Ancient Peru

IN THE May-June issue of *Mercurio Peruano* (Lima, Peru) César Antonio Ugarte summarizes in a lucid and readable article the results of investigations, conducted during recent years, concerning the economic life of ancient Peru. Eminent sociologists like Spencer, Laveleye, Letourneau, De Greet and others had previously applied their general theories regarding social evolution to the indigenous societies of Peru, founded on a comparative study of the institutions of primitive peoples. But, according to Señor Ugarte, these sociologists had too superficial a knowledge of Peruvian historical sources to be able to found their theories upon concrete bases. With the object of remedying this deficiency, some specialists in South American history have attempted to make an exegesis, in the light of new social theories, of such information

as it has been possible to obtain from early colonial records in Peru. Señor Ugarte says of the findings of one of these historians:

... One of them, the eminent English historian Sir Clements Markham, in his work, "History of the Incas," develops the patriarchal theory. According to him, from remote times anterior to the Incas, there were established in the isolated valleys which are formed by the chain of the Andes communities united by bonds of kindred similar to the Roman *gens*. These primitive communities, organized patriarchally, were the *ayllus*, which subsisted as the base of the economic and social régime through all the political transformations. The alliances and battles with neighboring tribes gave birth to the clan, an aggroupment of various *ayllus*; afterwards to the tribe, a conjunction of classes with a germ of political organization; and, finally, followed great confederations, like those of the Incas, the Chancas and the Ccollas, concluding after long and ferocious wars with the supremacy of the Incas.

The Empire of the Incas and the lands

dominated by their influence and culture included Ecuador on the North and extended to contiguous regions of Argentina and Chile on the South, taking in Bolivia on the East, with the Pacific as its Western boundary. It has been estimated that at the time of the Spanish conquest approximately 10,000,000 Indians were more or less under Inca domination. This vast population lived for the most part under an agrarian-communist régime, the sole urban settlements of any importance being the city of Cuzco and twenty or thirty other communities which served as centers for the political and economic activity of the different regions.

What were the essential characteristics of this agrarian régime? [asks Señor Ugarte]. We shall find the response to this question in one of the most authoritative colonial accounts.

We shall select that of Garcilaso de la Vega, the most well-known and one of the most exact and interesting. . . . According to him, the first task of the Incas after conquering a province was that of acquiring exact knowledge of its natural resources in order to divide them equitably. The cultivable lands were divided, as follows, in three lots: the first for the temples and priests of the Sun, the other for the Emperor and functionaries of the Empire, and the remainder for the people. This last lot was repartitioned among the families according to their social category and according to the number of

sons. The noble families received the larger shares; in the popular classes one *tupu* (a measure of land) was given to each married man, another equal portion was added for each male child, and one-half that amount for each daughter. Fertilizer and water were distributed in conformity with the necessities of cultivation, and pasture lands were held in common by each *ayllu* (a union of related families). The agrarian property not being transmissible through inheritance, its distribution was rectified each year.

Closely related to the collective ownership in land was the cooperative labor system. Projects of general public interest were accomplished through the concerted efforts of the *ayllu*, of the province, of the nation or of the Empire in general. The work of cultivating lands of the Sun and of his priests, of the Emperor and his court, of the officials, of the soldiers in service and of the old and invalid, was obligatory upon all the population. Large deposits of provisions, collected from excess production and from tributes, were maintained in the cities for use in cases of emergency, such as famine, war or earthquake.

The distribution and collection of tributes and the administration of the deposits were in charge of a fixed hierarchy, at whose head stood the Inca himself. These officials made reports concerning the economic condition of each district, but interfered little with the autonomy of the *ayllu*.

Agriculture was, naturally, the axle on which revolved the economic life of the Empire, and the Incas, appreciating its importance, did everything possible to further its development. They built aqueducts, admirably constructed and extending for many leagues, terraces in the mountainous regions, and an excellent system of highways—whose remains "constitute a mute accusation against the posterior generations who have permitted them to fall into ruin." Instruments for working the soil were, on the other hand, extremely rudimentary, since the use of iron was not known. But the clumsy wooden plow was handled with admirable dexterity. Among the products cultivated the one most preferred was maize, which served as the base of a frugal and vegetarian diet and from which was derived the favorite beverage, *chicha*. The value of the leaves of the coca plant, as a remedy for fatigue, likewise had early recognition.

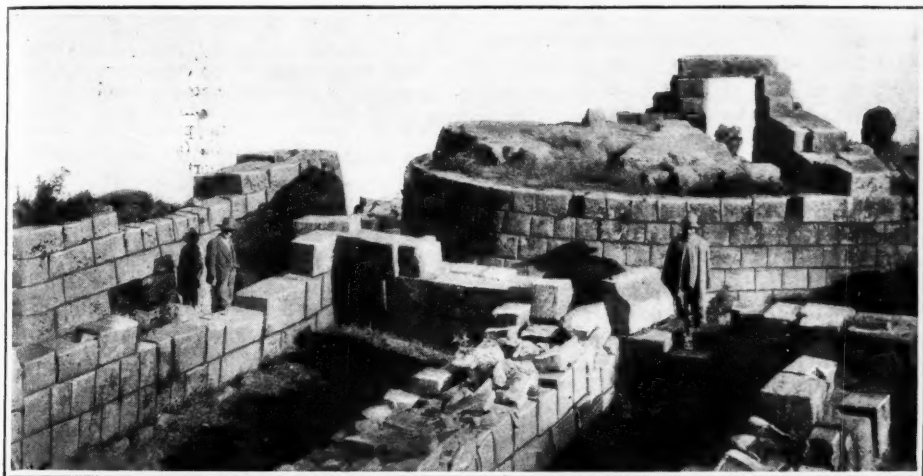
Cattle-breeding was not highly developed—and cattle were used more frequently as a means of transport than for food. The



AN INCA DWELLING—FOR THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

(In these strange towers, which still remain as notable specimens of early masonry, the Incas lived with their dead. Burials were made in the lower chamber)





RUINS OF THE INCA PERIOD IN PERU

great herds of vicuñas, alpacas and llamas belonged largely to the Inca and to the Sun.

Mining, too, and the manufacture of textiles were not far advanced, due to an ignorance of machinery. Gold and silver served for personal adornment and the decoration of the palaces and temples—

copper and bronze for armament and tools. But precious metals were not employed for monetary purposes.

The article concludes with a detailed description of the governmental system of the Incas and the financial organization of the Empire.

## Traffic Problems of Our Streets and Highways

WITH fifteen and a quarter million motor vehicles registered in the United States, the problem of the safe and efficient use of our streets and highways has become formidable in the extreme. A vast amount of ingenuity is being devoted to its solution, and it is the subject of a great volume of current literature. Thus in the last number of *Public Roads* (Washington, D. C.) Mr. E. W. James, of the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, presents a comprehensive review of existing methods and devices for promoting safety on country highways. The general impression one gets from this article is that practically all dangers of highway travel have been eliminated, so far as is humanly possible, in one part of the country or another, but that comparatively little progress has yet been made toward selecting the best practices and making them universally applicable. In this matter, as in so many others, our nominally United States display a striking lack of unity.

Mr. James thus formulates the basic principles of highway safety:

1. The development of safe roads by elimination of all known dangers in so far as such elimination is possible within physical and economic limitations.
2. Warning of uneliminated dangers by means of easily recognized signs and other devices of standardized form, uniformly placed with respect to the danger.
3. The development of safe vehicles by perfection of running parts and adoption of safety devices.
4. Diligence and care in the licensing of drivers of motor vehicles to eliminate the incompetent, careless and irresponsible driver.
5. The development of simple, uniform, and effective traffic regulations and the education of the whole public to a complete acquaintance with them.
6. The rigid enforcement of traffic regulations.

Under the first of the above headings the following dangers are enumerated:

|                                     |                                                 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Blind curves and road intersections | Steep grades                                    |
| Sharp curves on embankments         | Narrow road surfaces                            |
| Unprotected embankments             | Low or rough shoulders                          |
| Narrow bridges                      | Steep crowns                                    |
|                                     | Sharp curves at bridge and underpass approaches |

Sharp convex vertical curves  
Slippery road surfaces.

Grade crossings  
Unsuperelevated curves

Only a few of the remedies can be mentioned here. Their adoption is being fostered by the influence which the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads wields through its approval of designs for all Federal aid roads. The average width of road surface is increasing. The opinion is crystallizing among engineers that eighteen feet is the minimum safe width for two-way traffic, while in many cases a twenty-foot standard section is used on the principal routes.

In States where the legal highway is along the section line, the flattening of curves has become common where it was unusual, grades are being reduced, guard rail included in designs, bridges widened and strengthened, and railroad grade crossings eliminated. In the enormously expensive and important item of grade crossing elimination alone there has been remarkable advance. No less than 25 per cent. of all crossings so far encountered in the Federal aid system have been eliminated by relocation or separation of grades in the premises. At present no standards of curvature or gradient are prescribed, because conditions are of such great variety throughout the country; but tentative policies have gradually hardened into more or less fixed practice that is generally followed. Some States, as for instance North Carolina, have adopted a maximum gradient of 6 per cent. or lower, in line with the most advanced advocates of grade reduction. Other States, having a very irregular topography and advanced development, have not been so successful.

The most effective danger signs are those that include striking conventional symbols instead of relying too much upon wording.

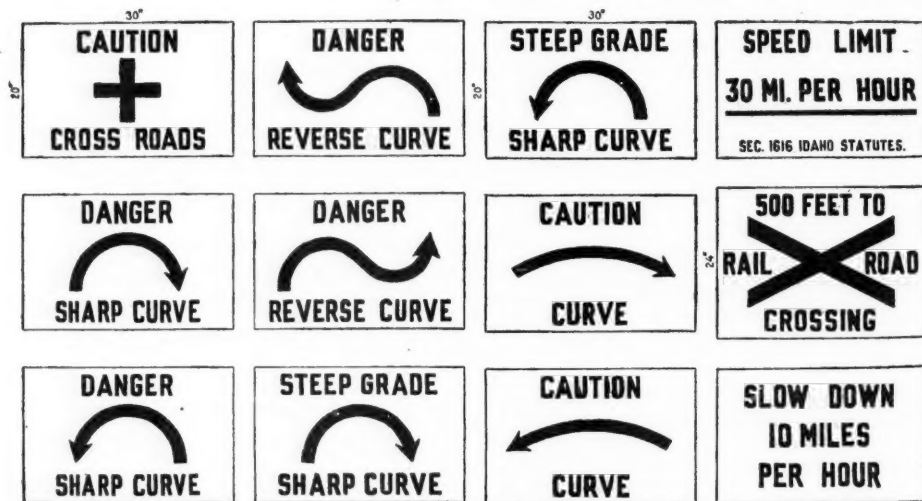
A model series of such signs has been adopted by the State of Idaho. Markings on the road surface are much used to reduce the danger at curves and for other purposes.

The commonest mark is the "center line" in white or black. The latter, first adopted, is now generally giving away to white, which has much greater visibility under prevailing conditions. The system of traffic markings has been most completely developed probably in Massachusetts, but is also used generously in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, New York, Illinois, and other States. This system is effectually confined to "black top" pavements, concrete, and other hard surfaces. In Pennsylvania experiments have been made in constructing a white center line integral with a concrete pavement. This is expected to save the cost of maintaining such markers and also to make it possible to extend their use widely—to tangents as well as to curves.

Surface markings are also used to indicate highway intersections and railway grade crossings, in place of roadside signs at eye level.

The safety of the highways will not, however, be entirely secure until there is a standard of competence fixed as a prerequisite to driving. The wild driver is still at large on our highway and no details of design will save him from accidents. He may be a simple speed maniac or he may be a hopelessly erratic driver. He must be left to the tender mercies of the law, which should be executed not in consideration of him, but solely in consideration of the other fellow.

It was formerly believed that accidents prevailed at curves, either of grade or alignment, but there is considerable evidence from data compiled in Maryland that greater dangers of colliding exist, as cars are now driven, on the long, straight sections where



STANDARD DANGER SIGNS ADOPTED BY THE IDAHO DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

the drivers "step on it" to the point of recklessness. However, such results are to be overcome only by the education of the man, not by alterations in design. The fact remains that curves and highway intersections are points of potential danger and become more than usually safe only because a driver is impressed with the existing hazard and avoids it.

The writer deals at length with the direction signs used in various parts of the country, and describes a new plan proposed for the Federal aid highway system, whereby all through routes will bear two-digit numbers; odd numbers to be given to connecting and continuous routes east and west, and even numbers to similar routes north and south. Beginning with number 100, other routes of the road system could be numbered in each State independently.

Efforts to improve traffic conditions in a large city are strikingly illustrated in the case of Buffalo, as described by George C. Kelcey in the *Scientific American*. As a result of an exhaustive traffic survey in that city, many instructive reforms have been

inaugurated. For example, motorists are being encouraged to avoid congested districts as far as possible in passing from one part of the city to another. The importance of relieving congestion, apart from the danger involved, is indicated by the statement that an average loss of ten minutes a day for the 62,000 motor vehicles in the city means a money loss of over \$3,700,000 a year. Much has been done to coördinate the movements of street cars and automobiles. With a view to further improvements in this direction,

It is recommended that a plan of fare collection be put into effect which will still further speed up the movement of street cars. According to this plan, the passenger pays his fare getting on, in-bound; and when getting off, on the out-bound trip. This permits cars in the business area to load and unload at both entrances and makes fare collection a matter of a few passengers at a time, as they get on or off at outlying points. In some cities, the time of street cars through the business area has been improved by 30 per cent., and in one case 50 per cent., by this method of paying fares.

## Achievements and Defects of Agricultural Education

ACCORDING to Mr. Eustace E. Windes, of the U. S. Bureau of Education, vocational education for agriculture, so liberally provided in this country, has wrought marvels of achievement, yet exhibits certain striking defects. Mr. Windes begins an article on this subject in *School Life* (Washington, D. C.) by quoting Carlyle's description of the horny-handed type of farmer—"the toil-worn craftsman that with earth-made implement laboriously conquers the earth"—still exemplified in the European peasant and once prevalent in America, but now tending to disappear on this side of the ocean. Of the Old World farmer the writer says that "he still labors with crude tools to produce a meager return; he is still uneducated either from a cultural or a vocational viewpoint." In contrast—

The mass of farmers of the United States to-day, however, after approximately sixty years of agricultural education fostered by the National Government and by States through the Federal Department of Agriculture, State Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations and through instruction in public schools, are quite different. They produce per worker 2.3 times what the farmer of the United

Kingdom produces, 2.5 times what the German farmer produces, 3.2 times what the French farmer produces, and 6.5 times what the Italian farmer produces.

The increased production comes through education in productive processes and particularly through education in the use of labor-saving tools. The American farmer to-day expends less than 20 per cent. of the labor in producing the nine principal crops of the country that he expended in producing the same quantity of these crops in 1850. The American farmer to-day is not necessarily the toil-calloused, broken laborer that Carlyle pictures. Often he can not be distinguished from the brain-worker in bearing or in breadth of scholarship. He labors less hardly with his hands. He produces more abundantly of food and clothing. He contributes to that which is best in governmental life. He adds to our storehouse of spiritual possessions. It is the miracle of education in vocation.

This is one side of the picture. That there is another is indicated by the fact that the 28 per cent. of the country's occupational workers engaged in agriculture secure only 17.4 per cent. of the national income, whereas the 32 per cent. belonging to the professional and commercial classes secure 40 per cent. of the national income. The writer believes that a more equitable distribution of rewards might be attained

by improvements in vocational education for the farmer. He says:

Specifically, agricultural education in the past has concerned itself with such matters as the right use of machinery, control of pests, tillage practices, conservation of soil fertility, supply of food through commercial fertilizers, improvements of plants and animals, and economical farm layout, to the exclusion of problems of distribution of agricultural products through which the farmer realizes or fails to realize a just return for the commodities he has to sell.

While recognizing the dangers of group organization in politics, Mr. Windes thinks that, so long as it exists, farmers must be taught its advantages and methods. They

must learn not only how to secure legislation, but also

to read aright the influence of the legislative program of other groups upon the farm group and the social order as a whole and to react accordingly. They must be taught to use to good advantage the credit machinery with which the Nation has provided them. They must be taught the law, and the agencies for buying and selling, transporting and storing. They must be taught the sources of information and the proper use of information concerning world and domestic demand for the commodities they produce.

It seems well to realize that these phases of education for agricultural pursuits are as definitely vocational as the skill involved in operating a farm tractor.

## The Amazing Story of Corn

THAT the annual value of the corn crop ranges from one and a half to three billion dollars, which is about twice the annual value of iron produced and twenty times that of the annual yield of gold, is one of the many impressive statements made about this cereal in the *Nature Magazine* (Washington, D. C.) by Mr. D. F. Jones, of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station. The "corn" in question is maize, or Indian corn—America's most valuable agricultural gift to the world at large.

The overshadowing importance of corn among farm crops is not generally appreciated, for the reason that only a minor part of the crop is used directly for human consumption. Nearly half of all the corn grown in this country is fed to swine, and is thus eventually eaten by mankind in the form of pork. About half the remainder is fed to cattle and horses. Corn silage is one of the principal foods of dairy cattle, and without it milk would be much more expensive than it is. Nevertheless, the importance of corn itself in the human dietary is increasing. Thus corn oil, corn syrup and corn starch are already manufactured on so large a scale that their production is likely soon to rival the meat-packing industry. An area of about a hundred million acres is planted to corn each year in the United States, and during the past decade the value of the crop has generally exceeded the combined value of wheat and cotton. Although the bulk of the crop is raised in the Corn Belt of mid-America, corn is grown in every State of the Union. We read:

Unknown to the world before the discovery of

America corn is grown in nearly every country in the world and has even replaced wheat and rice as staff of life in some places. Of the world's four billion bushels of corn the United States produces three-fourths. Loaded in wagons this would make a train long enough to go nine times around the world at the equator. Southern Europe, South America, southern Asia and South Africa, in the order named, contribute most of the remainder. Italy, the Balkan countries, Hungary, Spain and Portugal comprise the region of corn culture in Europe. A large part of the corn grown in Argentina and Brazil is exported to Europe and although the amount produced is small compared to our production the South American grain has an important effect upon the market price of corn.

The geographic range of corn is determined by temperature, rainfall and length of growing season. It thrives best where the days and nights are warm during the growing season and where there is a moderate summer rainfall. The plant does not succeed in arid regions even under irrigation unless there is rainfall during the period of pollination.

Corn is an extremely variable plant and varieties have been developed to meet very different conditions. In the tropics large-growing, hard-seeded types with the ears well protected by long thick husks succeed best because of resistance to insects which devour the grain. In the north early maturity is of chief importance. There are varieties which will mature seed in less than three months. Larger and heavier yielding varieties are grown for silage in localities where only the extremely early sorts can be ripened.

Corn played an important part in the settlement of America by the European race. The early colonists in Virginia and New England found the Indians growing and eating it. The introduction of European plants was a slow and difficult process, but the settlers had no trouble in subsisting, in the meantime, on this staple of the aborigines. It was first grown, says Mr. Jones, among the charred stumps of burned



forests, fertilized by burying a fish in each hill before the seed was planted, cultivated with a clam-shell hoe, and eaten as roasted ears or ground into meal. The history of corn-growing in America goes, however, far back of the days of Columbus, and its relics are found among the most ancient tribes of Indians. No plant has been found truly wild that resembles it, and its cultivation is supposed to be at least 20,000 years old.

The principal types of corn now grown are known as dent, flint, flour, sweet and pop corn. Of these, says the writer,

Dent corn is practically the only corn grown for animal consumption in the corn belt. Flint corn is similar to it in composition except that the grains are harder and smoother and do not have the characteristic indentation. Flint varieties are preferred in the northern corn-growing districts because of their early maturity, freedom from mold on the ears and ability to germinate in the cool, rainy weather of early spring. Flour corn is similar in appearance to flint but has the consistency of chalk. It is easily ground into flour and for that reason was probably preferred by the squaws who ground the flour and who likewise sowed the seed. Flour corn is not now grown to any appreciable extent.

Sweet corn is characterized by a high sugar content. In field corn this sugar is largely converted into starch. Well-formed starch grains are not formed in sweet corn kernels. The sweetness of this type makes it much more palatable and that is why it is preferred as a vegetable and for canning. On account of the density of the kernel and the tough hull in which it is enclosed pop corn has the interesting property of expanding enormously when heated rapidly. The popping of corn is simply an explosion of steam and oil vapor held under pressure until the seed is burst and the pressure suddenly released. Corn to pop successfully must have just the right quantity of moisture, neither too wet nor too dry. The most common cause of poor popping is due to drying. Popcorn, when cured thoroughly, should



A MID-WESTERN CORN FIELD

be stored in sealed jars or other air-tight containers.

Many curious types of corn are known. These have no commercial importance but have considerable interest to the botanist, as they throw light upon the origin of the plant, and to the student of heredity as these oddities breed true and reappear when crossed with other types. Little dwarfs grow only a few inches high side by side with normal plants ten feet or over in height. Golden plants are common and pure white seedlings, which cannot live beyond the stage permitted by the food stored in the seed, are frequently seen. These are hereditary defects. All of these help to make clear the process of heredity and only by bettering the hereditary constitution of the corn plant can it be made a more efficient producer.

## "After Mars' Visit"

THIS title, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for September 1st, is not over a discussion of post-bellum conditions, social or economic, but a readable, semi-scientific article suggested by the recent perigee of our neighbor planet.

The writer, Charles Nordmann, throws a clear light on Mr. Marconi's refusal to leave home and take charge of the magnificent project to send a tremendous signal to the passing neighbor from the crest of the Jungfrau. Since our earth's orbit is inside that of Mars, and the conjunction of course occurs when we are quite the same side of the sun, any Martian beings, to look

at passing Terra at all, would have to gaze straight toward the sun's disk itself, against which the earth could hardly be descried, much less any rush light upon a petty peak! Doubtless Mr. Marconi was at least as incredulous, also, as to Martian familiarity with the wireless, or other human code. (It is noted in passing that a French equivalent, *sansfilesque*, is knocking in vain at the Academy's doors. It is far more likely that "wireless" itself will steal into acceptance, more easily than did *sport*, *bulldog*, and so forth.)

The absurd story of a mysterious identical one-word message, reported by two ama-

teurs, independently, as received by them at the hour of the perigee, was hardly worth mentioning. The word has been identified with probability as an indecent Russian one; but the hand of a cheap practical joker was visible from the first at least to a humorous folk.

The great system of canals, following arcs of great circles, once declared by an enthusiastic astronomer, Percival Lowell, to be a device for using the annual melting of the polar icecaps to irrigate an increasingly arid globe, seems wholly abandoned. (What is the fate of the convincing photographs shown a generation ago?) But the caps themselves, and their alternating gradual vanishment at the summer solstice of each hemisphere, are confirmed by all the best recent observations. Whether, however, they are composed of ice and snow, carbonic acid, or some unknown material, is still purely a matter of conjecture.

The most technical and most interesting investigation mentioned is the skilful analysis of the special lines in the spectrum produced by the passage of light through oxygen. This has convinced physicists and astronomers that any atmosphere which Mars has contains no appreciable amount of that element, and so could not support any life in the least akin to that of earthly animals of high and low degree. (As the reflected sunlight by which alone we see Mars, has passed not only twice through that planet's atmosphere but once also through our own, the effects of the latter must be scrupulously omitted from the study of the spectrum. This was done by comparison with our moon, which is well known to be without atmosphere altogether.)

Another series of experiments, not here explained, results in the conviction that the temperature on Mars' surface can not rise above 37 Centigrade. So Mr. Lowell's splendid belts of green vegetation along the great canals (seen by another imaginative astronomer in all the crimson and gold of autumnal foliage in America) suffer another deadly blight.

The general conclusion is a frankly negative one: We have, to date, no evidence to encourage belief in Martian men, beasts or even plants, in any appreciable way resembling or approaching earthly organisms. Yet the writer reveals keen enjoyment received from perusal of Wells' "Martian War," and earlier flights of poetic fancy.

A much more fruitful literary thread is traced backward from the discovery by an American, in 1877, of two tiny moons, revolving about Mars almost as threateningly near as an unwelcome airplane circling over Coney Island beach.

It is first noted that Voltaire, in an imaginary aerial journey modeled after Lucian's "True Story," says:

Our voyagers coasted along the planet Mars. . . . and saw two moons which serve that planet, and have escaped the notice of our astronomers. . . . It would be difficult for Mars, so much farther distant than we from the sun, to get on with less than two moons.

As a matter of fact, even now, no objects on Mars less than twenty miles square can be descried, and in the eighteenth century no lens existed powerful enough to reveal either of these satellites.

But after long admiring Voltaire's amazing divination, M. Nordmann has wandered into comparative literature, and discovered that the whole passage—moons, argument for their necessity, and all—was a shameless plagiarism from Jonathan Swift, who, a generation earlier, had announced the discoveries of the astronomers who dwelt in his Isle of Lâputa. He added surprisingly accurate estimates, even, of the size, distance, etc. of the moons!

Another handsome acknowledgment of Anglo-Saxon superiority is the crediting of nearly every notable discovery, and the most excellent telescopes mentioned in this paper, to observatories in our own country.

Since Flammarion and Jules Verne scientific discovery has rarely had a more genial and readable chronicler.

## News from Nature's World

### *Are Bird Families Permanent?*

IT IS well known that the most devoted conjugal affection, as well as the most anxious parental care of the offspring, is found in many species of birds. But there is some doubt as to how long the family circle remains unbroken even where such early affection is manifested. This subject has recently elicited a lively discussion in the pages of the *Condor* (Pasadena, California). In the May-June number it was suggested in an article by Miss Sherman that flocks of a number of species of birds are not formed by the aggregation of families. In the September-October issue, W. L. McAtee of Washington remarks that in this matter as in most natural history subjects there is probably no universal rule, adding:

Whistling swan and Canada geese families, I am sure from personal observation, retain their identity at least to mid-winter. On Currituck Sound, N. C., when large flocks of these birds are undisturbed for a period, they gradually separate out in groups. In the case of the swans the fact that these are families is evident at a glance, the grayish necks of the cygnets make them easily distinguished from the adults. When one sees the birds grouped in this way, two white-necked accompanied by two to three and rarely by as many as five gray-necked ones, and sees not one but scores and even hundreds of such groups, he becomes convinced that he had under observation swan families.

### *Wild Canaries*

Except the pigeon and the domestic fowl there seems to be no bird more fully domesticated than the canary. But while the business of breeding them in Europe and America has grown to enormous dimensions, they are still found wild in their native haunts, the Canary Islands, of which Teneriffe is the most typical example. In a late number of *Kosmos* (Stuttgart), Dr. Kurt Floericke writes of these charming songsters and their haunts:

Nothing has so much contributed towards making known to the world these remote islands as their feathered inhabitants, canary birds, . . . which have made conquest of the world and are as much at home in a hovel as in a palace.

He tells us, however, that it is the yellow domesticated birds which are offered on every hand for sale instead of the less brilliant wild songsters of a grayish-green color. The chief zone inhabited by the

latter upon the rocky peak of Teneriffe is that covered by forests and orchards, the uppermost limit being 2,000 m. above sea level. They do not haunt the gloomy depths of the forest, however, but prefer clearings and forest edges, finding their favorite food in figs and almonds. At mating time it likes to build its dainty nest among the thick tall branches of the "brezo" of broome. Its nest is distinguished from that of all other song birds by the snowy cotton. With respect to their song the author tells us:

By the middle of December a few males were in full song and by the end of the month the chorus had grown steadily larger, louder, and more passionate. . . . By the end of January the wooing songsters exhibit their peculiar "dance" soaring from the twig of a tree in full song steeply into the air with slow circular wing beats. . . . To my taste the fresh, silver clear, bell-like song of the wild bird is far sweeter, softer, more varied and more full of expression than that of the tame ones, but then there is no quarrelling about taste.

### *The Economic Value of the Giant Tortoise*

Soon after Dr. William Beebe's return from the Galapagos Islands situated on the Equator, west of Ecuador, the writer had the privilege of being present at his official lecture before the members of the American Museum of Natural History. A striking feature of the evening was the moving picture of a giant tortoise lumbering over a slope covered with volcanic rock. This animal was the only one of its kind seen by him on any of this group of islands where the great creatures were once so abundant that their very name is derived from the Spanish word *galapago*, meaning tortoise. And yet these huge reptiles are extremely sturdy—existing it is said, on good authority, for nearly half a thousand years. That they should be almost extinct at present, though the islands were discovered only a little while before the opening of the eighteenth century, is another melancholy proof of man's folly. The very qualities which made them long-lived when unmolested are those which have brought about their rapid extermination. The sailors who first discovered them soon found that their meat was excellent eating, surpassing even the delicate flesh of the green turtles beloved by aldermen. It became a habit, therefore, for the crews of whaling ships visiting those latitudes to provision

their larders with several tons of live meat. The great creatures, some of them weighing 200 or 300 lbs. or more, were stored in the hold. At the end of a year or more, when they were hauled forth to be put in the stew pot, they were still in good condition, furnishing an abundance of delicate meat, and large quantities of an oil so pure and fine as to be compared to fresh butter or sweet oil.

Dr. C. H. Townsend, the head of the New York Aquarium, has recently made the interesting suggestion apropos of the solitary specimen found by Dr. Beebe, that others may exist in the higher and less accessible portions of some of these volcanic islands, which are supposed to represent the peaks of a submerged continent which vanished long ago. He proposes quite seriously that a search should be made for such survivors and that they should be transported to more accessible portions of the tropics such as Hawaii, for example. They are found to breed freely in captivity provided the climate and other conditions are suitable.

#### *Desert Fishes*

Most people are unaware that wherever water holes are found in deserts, even though these may be at great distances from one another or from the nearest streams of water, fish are found living in them. Strange to say, whereas desert animals very generally possess special features adapting them to the life of the arid regions in which they reside, desert fishes are quite similar to the fishes in other parts of the world. Moreover, although they come from subterranean waters, these fishes are not blind, as are the fishes found in Kentucky in the Mammoth Cave and in other caves elsewhere. This shows that they have not been present in these waters for long periods of geologic time, but if they have made the journey thither in quite recent times, as seems quite certain, the puzzling question arises as to how they got to their present situation. Thus far this baffling problem has not been solved by naturalists, though there are, to be sure, quite a number of theories about the matter. One of the most plausible of these suggests that fish eggs deposited among mud or weeds at the edge of a water hole may have been carried on the feet of birds

from one sheet of water to another. It is well-known, indeed, that birds traverse the desert in an air line from one water hole to another, and often at very high speed.

Three specimens of desert fish have recently been received at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. One of these is a sort of minnow called *Barbus*, from the so-called whiskers about its mouth and on its body. This is a genus quite plentiful in the Old World in freshwater streams in warm climates. Other specimens are perch-like fishes (though not true perches) of kinds which are quite common throughout Africa. These perch-like fishes are very affectionate and careful parents, watching over their eggs and later, the young fry, until these are able to protect themselves from their enemies. But even in spite of this loving care it might easily happen that among the great flocks of birds which migrate across Africa, stopping to drink at the water holes en route, a few would pick up stray eggs to be deposited at the next watering place.

#### *The Gallant Cock of the Rock*

One of the rarest and most beautiful birds in South America, and for that matter in the entire world, is the cock of the rock, which, as it happens, is not a cock at all, being quite unrelated to barnyard fowls. It belongs to the perching birds, but its beak is not unlike that of a domestic fowl and it has a crest which, though composed of feathers, suggests in shape and position the comb of Sir Chanticleer. This crest is so placed that the beak is practically hidden. The color is quite magnificent—a glowing flame or orange red. It is set off and rendered more brilliant by the black wings surmounted by gray wing-coverts. The value due to its beauty and rarity is enhanced by the fact that it is found among the rocks of mountain sides in situations almost inaccessible. While there are four species known, only one, a native of Venezuela, British Guiana and northern Brazil, has ever been exhibited alive. Four in all have reached New York, the first one in June and the last one on August 28, 1924. Its most interesting domestic habit is the courtship dance in which the males indulge at mating time. Several of them gather and go through remarkable evolutions in the presence of the admiring females.



# THE NEW BOOKS

## Biography and Memoirs

**Mark Twain's Autobiography.** With an Introduction by Albert Bigelow Paine. Harper & Brothers. Vol. I: 368 pp. Vol. II: 365 pp.

Many readers are likely to be surprised by the method and content of the long-awaited memoirs of Mark Twain. Some may even be unpleasantly disappointed. It should be said at the outset that this two-volume work is wholly unlike any autobiography ever before conceived by mortal man. Mark Twain wished, as he said, to "speak from the grave." He felt that his book could only be frank and unconventional. He might have written a book conforming to the standards of such literature, as maintained in our time, but such a book he knew, and we know, would not have been Mark Twain's autobiography. Believing that a man's inner thoughts and not his outward acts make up his only true history, Mark Twain wrote only of those things that were of direct, personal interest to him. In preparing his memoirs he disregarded chronological order, dictating his reminiscences from day to day on such subjects as presented themselves to his mind at the time. So far as possible, the dates of dictation have been preserved. The writing was practically completed eighteen years ago, but the author enjoined that publication should be delayed until many years after his death. That occurred in 1910. During his lifetime Mark Twain had more or less intimate relations with hundreds of eminent men and women here and abroad. His autobiography is important not for what it reveals in the careers of these men and women but as it shows the reaction of their words and deeds on Mark Twain's own sensitive and active mentality. It is written throughout in the characteristically simple and vivid style which marks all the published writings of America's greatest humorist.

**The Preparation of Calvin Coolidge: an Interpretation.** By Robert A. Woods. Houghton Mifflin Company. 288 pp.

Of the several biographies of President Coolidge published during the current year, the one that seems on the whole the most satisfactory came from the press only five weeks before Election Day. Mr. Woods has attempted something more than an ordinary campaign "life" of his subject. He has tried to interpret the personality, and his ample knowledge of the Coolidge background, at Plymouth, at Amherst and in the Governor's chair at Boston, has enabled him to present a thoughtful and convincing interpretation. Especially illuminating is the chapter covering Mr. Coolidge's terms as Governor. The episode of the Boston police strike has never before been so clearly or authoritatively described. Mr. Woods has had access to original

sources and makes use of much material never before published. Because of late publication, the author has been able to include in his final chapter an excellent account of Mr. Coolidge's first year in the Presidency.

**Charles Proteus Steinmetz: a Biography.** By John W. Hammond. Century Company. 489 pp. Ill.

One of the heroes of this electrical age was Charles P. Steinmetz, who died at Schenectady one year ago. The record of his scientific achievements alone is tremendously impressive, but added to that is the dramatic story of an unusual personality. Like Pupin, Steinmetz came to our shores a friendless immigrant and lived to give distinction to American science. He had the further handicap of a physical deformity which, however, seems never to have interfered with his progress in the field of electrical invention. His early years in America were passed at Yonkers, New York. From there he went into the service of the General Electric Company at Schenectady. When he left Germany he was a political refugee because of his avowed Socialism, and in later years he served as president of the Schenectady Board of Education under a Socialist administration. Mr. Hammond has written this biography from material supplied by Dr. Steinmetz himself and by his most intimate friends. Before his death Dr. Steinmetz had read and approved several of the chapters. Mr. Hammond has succeeded in telling a thrilling story in an interesting way.

**Anatole France: the Man and His Work. An Essay in Critical Biography.** By James Lewis May. Dodd, Mead and Company. 262 pp. Ill.

The first part of this book is devoted to Anatole France the man, and the second to his work. The critics have long debated in which department of letters the French writer's genius was most compelling. Mr. May declares his own belief that Anatole France the poet will outlive the political essayist and the satirist. This, however, does not prevent him from writing a fair and well-balanced appreciation of France's work in the various fields which he has entered. Following the authorized English edition of Monsieur France's works, this biography and criticism, at the close of a long and honored career in French letters, is especially welcome.

**Barrett Wendell and His Letters.** By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press. 350 pp.

Barrett Wendell is remembered by his Harvard pupils of forty years as the most brilliant, if not the

most unconventional, teacher of his time. A man of such a personality could hardly fail to be a great letter writer. Mr. Howe has gathered up from this correspondence letters to many friends in all parts of the world, and these letters frequently give expression to the thought and feeling of the time besides revealing the individuality of Professor Wendell himself.

**Cargoes for Crusoes.** By Grant Overton. D. Appleton & Company; George H. Doran Company. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 416 pp. Ill.

This book is published frankly as a piece of propaganda for the wider distribution of books by present-day authors. It contains a number of well-written biographical sketches together with bibliographies and price lists. Among the authors exploited are Melville Davisson Post, Jeffery Farnol, E. Phillips Oppenheim, G. Stanley Hall, Cosmo Hamilton, E. V. Lucas, Edith Wharton and Mary Johnston.

**Memories and Adventures.** By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 410 pp.

Everyone knows that the creator of "Sherlock Holmes" carries around a fund of good stories from his personal experience. Some of these are given to the public in this autobiography. As a traveler and a lecturer, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle became acquainted with many notable people in both hemispheres. This book has reminiscences of such British celebrities as George Meredith, Lord Kitchener, Lloyd George, Lord Balfour, Herbert Asquith, Henry Irving, Rudyard Kipling, Bernard Shaw and James M. Barrie, while the United

States is represented by President Roosevelt and Major Pond, the lecture bureau conductor.

**David Wilmot: Free-Soiler.** By Charles Buxton Going. D. Appleton and Company. 787 pp. Ill.

David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, was one of the few American statesmen whose names have become associated with a single political measure. The school histories of to-day describe the Wilmot Proviso, which was first introduced at the close of the Mexican War and after the Civil War became practically word for word the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The man who originated this measure is all but forgotten. During the period from 1845 to 1865, and especially in the rise of the Free Soil movement, David Wilmot was a national figure. His fortunes and those of the proviso are recorded at length in the lives of most of the leading statesmen of his day, but until the present time he has had no biographer. Mr. Going has taken up the task at this late day under one serious disadvantage, in that all of Wilmot's private papers disappeared many years ago and material had to be sought in the correspondence of contemporaries or in printed documents and records. Mr. Going has succeeded well in portraying Wilmot as a living figure and leader in the Free Soil movement.

**Uncensored Recollections.** Anonymous. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 346 pp.

This book does not pretend to be formal history. It is anything but that. Some readers will be attracted by the author's air of making indiscreet revelations. Certainly much of what he relates would be indiscreet if true. With England as a starting point, it ranges through Continental biography and even across the Atlantic to America.

## Narratives of Travel and Exploration

**Down the Grand Canyon.** By Lewis R. Freeman. Dodd, Mead and Company. 371 pp. Ill.

More than any other American river, the Colorado possesses a fascinating interest for the traveler and especially for one who is adventurously inclined. From the day when it first became known to the white man, the river has been the scene of thrilling adventure. More than half a century ago, Major Powell was the first to make the passage of the Grand Canyon, and since his day, while there have been many attempts to repeat the experiment, few have succeeded. The most noteworthy of all these was the well-equipped expedition of the U. S. Geological Survey under Colonel Birdseye in the summer of 1923. It was fortunate for the reading public that this expedition had as one of its members Mr. Lewis R. Freeman, who for many years has made a point of voyaging down rivers until he has become an expert and authority in that field of exploration. His book "Down the Grand Canyon" is a capital account of the expedition of 1923, containing a fund of information about the formation of the Canyon and a thousand interesting facts which could become known only through such an exploration as he describes. In addition, Mr. Freeman tells several thrilling stories of his personal adventures in the Canyon.

**Seeing Canada.** By John T. Faris. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 238 pp. Ill.

If any American traveler believes in and consistently acts on the principle of "Seeing America First," it is Dr. John T. Faris, whose accounts of American travel have developed into an imposing series of volumes. No one of his books describing sections of our own country is more engagingly written or more beautifully illustrated than his new volume on "Seeing Canada." No part of the great Dominion to the North has been neglected and the increasing number of summer travelers in that interesting land will find in Dr. Faris' chapters just the information needed to enable them to plan scenic tours that will richly reward them for the expenditure of time and money.

**A Gringo in Mañana-Land.** By Harry L. Foster. Dodd, Mead and Company. 357 pp. Ill.

This book is built out of material obtained by Mr. Foster within the past few years as a free lance newspaper correspondent in Mexico and Central America. His familiarity with Mexican affairs was gained during the last days of Carranza. He later visited the country during the régime of Obregon and narrowly escaped being caught in the De la

Huerta rebellion. As a wanderer in Central America, he witnessed the beginning of the last civil war in Honduras and saw the flight of the last tyrant from Costa Rica. He has a fluent narrative style and the gift of making his material interesting to the general reader.

**The French Riviera.** By Pierre Devoluy and Pierre Borel. With a Preface by Arnold Bennett. Boston: The Medici Society Limited. 156 pp. Ill.

This new volume in the beautifully illustrated series known as the "Picture Guides" was prepared by two French writers, one of whom is a native of Nice. Both men are peculiarly qualified by lifelong studies of the region to write a descriptive book of this kind, and like the other volumes of the series this serves to point out to the reader in distant lands salient features of the villages and countryside described.

**Hawaii: The Rainbow Land.** By Katherine Pope. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 364 pp. Ill.

Having been for nine years closely associated with Hawaiians, the author of this book used the opportunity to gather folk lore and history and to form some conception of what the life of the islanders was before the white man came. To these accounts of the past she has added a picture of "Island Life To-Day," in which she presents Hawaii as seen by the tourist.

**To Lhasa in Disguise: a Secret Expedition Through Mysterious Tibet.** By William M. McGovern. The Century Company. 462 pp. Ill.

The mysteries of Tibet have long been a standing temptation to explorers and Orientalists. In this book Dr. McGovern describes a secret expedition through that strange land. He penetrated to Lhasa itself, interviewed the Lama and other officials and took a great number of photographs. He is the first white man who ever was able to pass a long enough time in the "Forbidden City" to make such studies at close range. Dr. McGovern is an Oxford man, a distinguished Orientalist and the author of several books relating to the Far East.

**Angkor the Magnificent: the Wonder City of Ancient Cambodia.** By Helen Churchill Candee. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 302 pp. Ill.

Less than twenty years ago the French Government obtained possession of the ancient ruins of the Khmers in Indo-China with all their art treasures and memorials of a past civilization. Angkor for centuries had been a buried city. Its civilization perished in the Fourteenth Century A. D., but many of its memorials have been rediscovered and many of these Mrs. Candee describes with an enthusiasm born of first-hand knowledge.

**With Stefansson in the Arctic.** By Harold Noice. Dodd, Mead and Company. 269 pp. Ill.

In the period covered by this narrative the author was a boy of twenty to twenty-two years who had a part in finding Stefansson at Banks Island after he had been given up as dead. He says that he has checked this story by the copies of his own diaries and those of Stefansson, filed in the Canadian archives at Ottawa. During the four years following Noice served as ethnologist of his own expedition to the Coronation Gulf country. This service, of course, greatly increased his knowledge of the North.

**The Arab at Home.** By Paul W. Harrison, M.D. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 345 pp. Ill.

Dr. Harrison writes from thirteen years' experience as a medical missionary among the Arab tribes. His book is the more agreeable because of the abundance of detail with which he fills out the descriptive passages. His relations with the Arabs of all classes were intimate. While his religion was despised, his skill as a physician was thoroughly respected. He left many friends among the tribesmen of the desert.

**Blue Tiger.** By Harry R. Caldwell. With an Introduction by Roy Chapman Andrews. The Abingdon Press. 261 pp. Ill.

Mr. Caldwell has been for twenty-four years a missionary in China. He is both a sportsman and naturalist, knows how to use the rifle and enjoys big game hunting. He has sent more than 20,000 scientific specimens to museums in America. An introduction to his book is supplied by Mr. Roy Chapman Andrews, of the American Museum of Natural History, New York.

**Jerusalem: a Historical Sketch.** By Lionel Cust. Illustrated by Major Benton Fletcher. Macmillan. 222 pp. Ill.

This sketch of the history of Jerusalem makes a special appeal to those tourists who in increasing numbers journey to the Holy City each year. It is the only recent work giving a continuous account of the city from the earliest days to the present. The illustrations, drawn by Major Benton Fletcher, form an important feature of the book.

**Motoring in North Africa.** By Paul E. Vernon. Paul E. Vernon & Company. 72 pp. Ill.

The story of an unusual and characteristically modern attempt to see North Africa from a motor car. The illustrations are reproductions from photographs.

**Rider's Bermuda: a Guide Book for Travelers.** Compiled under the general editorship of Fremont Rider by Dr. Frederic Taber Cooper. Henry Holt and Company. 158 pp. With maps.

## Books in Other Fields

**Agriculture Year Book: 1923.** United States Department of Agriculture. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1284 pp. Ill.

Pursuing the plan adopted when the present Administration at Washington came into office, the editors of the Agriculture Year Book for 1923 have made studies as to sugar, the sheep industry, our forage resources, the utilization of land for crops, pasture and forest and economic aspects of land tenure. The present volume also includes the special report on the wheat situation made to the President on November 30, 1923. The editors take note of the fact that American agriculture is undergoing important changes and in fact the contents of the Year Book themselves offer abundant evidence of such changes.

**Tales of the Old-Timers.** By Frederick R. Becholdt. The Century Company. 367 pp.

Another book by the author of "When the West Was Young." It is made up of true stories of the Old West, of Texas, Mexico, New Mexico, Wyoming, Montana and other cattle States. All of Mr. Becholdt's material is realistically presented. Much of it was gathered from men and women still alive, and old newspaper and other printed accounts have been carefully checked. In fact, Mr. Becholdt prides himself on being an old-time Westerner.

**The Gallants: Following, According to Their Wont, the Ladies!** By E. Barrington. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 308 pp. Ill.

In this book the author deals with historical characters, enveloping them all in an atmosphere of romance. Thus the stories become a mixture of fact and fancy revolving about figures more vividly portrayed than are the same personages in the pages of sober history.

**Politics: the Citizen's Business.** By William Allen White. Macmillan. 330 pp.

Mr. William Allen White, of the *Emporia Gazette*, whose picturesque candidacy for the governorship in Kansas has attracted more notice than anything that has happened in the politics of that State for many years, discusses in this book the recent national conventions and the resulting campaign in their bearing on important national and international issues. The important "documents" of the campaign are included in an appendix. The book thus has its place as a campaign handbook.

**Modern French Music.** By Edward Burlingame Hill. Houghton Mifflin Company. 406 pp.

The author of this book, who is Assistant Professor of Music at Harvard, traces the development of the national sentiment in French music from the time of the Franco-Prussian War to the present day. The unusual value of the work may be inferred from the fact that after the delivery of the lectures, on which it is based at the Lowell Institute, Boston,

in 1920, Professor Hill was invited to lecture under the auspices of the Universities of Strassburg and Lyons in the following year. The author has preserved in the main the untechnical viewpoint of the general reader, but at the same time incorporates many features necessary for a student's handbook on the subject.

**Eye Hazards in Industrial Occupations.** By-Louis Resnick and Lewis H. Carris. National Committee for Prevention of Blindness. 247 pp. Ill.

Under the auspices of the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness this handbook has been prepared for the use of safety engineers and inspectors, industrial physicians and nurses, for all persons responsible for industrial operations, and for government, trade association, and social agency officers. It is based on a great mass of data from industrial experience, and is full of practical suggestions for the prevention of blindness. The committee has gone to heavy expense in the investigations leading to this report, as well as in the publication of the report itself, and has set a price of \$1.50 on the book, paper bound with linen backing.

**Everyday Electricity: a Simple Introduction to Common Electric Phenomena.** By Herbert T. Wade. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 299 pp. Ill.

Electricity in its varied manifestations is coming to occupy so large a part in our daily life that most of us are in danger of taking it for granted without much thought of its fundamental principles. Mr. Wade, who has been for many years a frequent contributor to the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, tries to give in this little book a simple explanation of what these common phenomena mean. He takes up the various applications with which we are familiar—the magnet and magnetism, storage batteries, generators and motors, direct and alternating current, telegraph, telephone, electric lighting, applications of electrical energy, electric heating, electro-chemistry and X-rays. Mr. Wade's equipment for preparing a handbook of this kind is beyond question. It is the outgrowth of special technical knowledge and experimentation, extending over many years. Coupled with this, he has the gift of treating his subject with simplicity and breadth.

**A Chapter in American Education—Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute: 1824-1924.** By Ray Palmer Baker. Charles Scribner's Sons. 170 pp.

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, N. Y., has just celebrated the centennial of its foundation. It is the oldest technical school in the United States. Many distinguished engineers, chemists, physicists and geologists have been graduated from its halls, and its alumni are to be found in the faculties of practically all the agricultural and mechanical colleges and State Universities in the country. In a little book entitled "A Chapter in American Education," Professor Baker who holds the chair of English in the Institute, rehearses the salient facts in the history of this most worthy institution.